

The **Journal of Educational Sociology**

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

Vol. 1

SEPTEMBER 1927

No. 1

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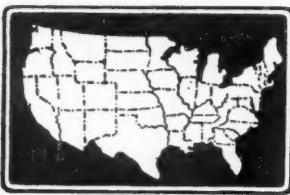
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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY—a Magazine of Theory and Practice—is published monthly by the American Viewpoint Society, Inc., 13 Astor Place, New York City, New York, during the months of January, February, March, April, May, June, September, October, November, December.

The subscription price is \$3.00 per year; the price of single copies is 35 cents. Orders for service of less than a half-year will be charged at the single-copy rate.

Business correspondence should be addressed to the American Viewpoint Society, Inc., 13 Astor Place, New York City.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor, JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY, 13 Astor Place, New York City, New York.

Second-class privilege applied for at the Post-office at Albany, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

Fort Orange Press, Albany, N. Y.

Sociology
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The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

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Vol. 1

SEPTEMBER 1927

No. 1

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

IN venturing upon a new enterprise, and especially in the publication of a new journal for educators, it is important to make sure that such an enterprise will be worth the effort of those who are committing themselves to it and worth the time of its contemplated readers. With the numerous journals available it is highly pertinent to examine meticulously the field to ascertain whether a new journal is necessary. Nothing short of necessity warrants the publication of a new magazine devoted to the theory and practice of education. Is there such warrant for *The Journal of Educational Sociology*?

The editors and backers of this magazine answer this question in the affirmative. There are several reasons for this answer. First, while there are a number of magazines that accept articles devoted to sociology in its application to education, no one magazine is devoted exclusively to that field. The sociological aspect of education cannot be properly represented without the emphasis that will come from a journal devoted to educational sociology. Second, sociology is a new science in the process of development, and already there is a body of material, essential to educational reconstruction and practice, which is not available to the educator. The only adequate way of making this material available, is to have an organ devoted exclusively to the field. Third, sociology as a science like psychology is fundamental in its application to the whole educational process. The sociological science is essential for the determination of educational policies, in adequately determining the subject matter to be taught in the schools, in formulating methods of teaching, in providing for the school and

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE EDITOR

classroom organization, and in measuring the results of educational endeavor; in fact, there is no phase of educational practice that can be properly conceived without the application of the principles of sociology. Fourth, the recent development of educational psychology and its application to education has turned the attention of educators from the more fundamental purposes of education to certain outcomes in themselves desirable, but they are partial and their emphasis has developed a one-sided educational practice. This one-sided practice, moreover, needs to be corrected by the application of the science of sociology to education.

The last of these reasons we regard as the most significant, and while we have no conflict with educational psychology, and we appreciate the essential service that it has rendered to education, we are firmly convinced of the necessity of correcting certain educational tendencies growing out of exclusive psychological emphasis by the application of sociology to the whole educational process. Let us examine, for illustration of this point, the application of sociology to educational measurement—the field in which psychology has made its most notable advances in its application to education. Psychology has given us the intelligence and achievement tests and these tests have been routinized to the point where they are now used in every progressive school system. Departments in the public school systems of the country have been developed for the administration and supervision of these tests in the school room. Schools now not only seek to determine the native capacity of children, but to discover the achievement of the pupils in the conventional subjects, to base the instruction upon their findings, and to measure the result of progress at stated periods during the school year.

The sociologist, however, is convinced of the inadequacy of this procedure. The sociologist is concerned with the development and measurement of totally different outcomes than those developed and measured by the tools that psychology has developed. The educational sociologist, like the educational psychologist, is concerned with behavior changes. But the behavior with which the sociologist is concerned is that which relates itself to the social life. The sociologist is concerned with education as an instrument for effecting behavior changes in the individual in this social relations; that is, in his family, in his groups, in his play and recreation, and in his civic relationships, etc.

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Furthermore, the sociologist is concerned with creating community changes and community practices and methods of discovering to what extent school instruction may effect such changes. Therefore, in so far as the measurement of attainment in conventional school subjects are likewise measures of the social changes, well and good. But are they measures of the changes effected in the individual in his community relations or are they measures of changes effected in the community through education? No one knows. These tests cannot measure the most desirable changes sought through education, that is, changes in social behavior.

One of the problems of educational sociology, therefore, is to develop means for determining social changes through education, and to place the emphasis upon the subject matter of the curriculum, the method of school instruction and the school organization for the purpose of bringing about changes in social behavior. The problem here indicated merely suggests one task of educational sociology. *The Journal of Educational Sociology* is launched for the purpose of giving this emphasis. It is therefore a journal designed to serve every one concerned with education. Its purpose is to serve both the theory and practice of education in its social implications.

E. G. P.

The Journal of Educational Sociology

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

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SEPTEMBER 1927

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SOCIOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE NORMAL SCHOOL CURRICULUM

E. GEORGE PAYNE

New York University

IN 1923 before the College Teachers of Education I presented data indicating the requirements for graduation from normal schools and teachers colleges preparing teachers for service in the elementary schools. A summary of these facts is significant for this discussion.¹

At that time there was complete failure of teacher training institutions to attempt a rational basis for curricula construction. There has been some change, but no radical readjustment since 1923. Among transcripts of credits of the graduates of two year training courses coming to my attention at that time, one which was typical of the institutions in one part of the country indicated that the graduate had taken a program consisting of eighty recitation hours in psychology, one hundred in logic, forty in school management, eighty in the history of education, twelve hundred in special methods in elementary school subjects, and five hundred in practice teaching. A similar transcript from a normal school in a city of 300,000 inhabitants presented one thousand hours of practice teaching, eighty in psychology, one hundred and sixty in pedagogy, twenty in school management, and seven hundred and forty in special methods in the elementary school subjects. The first of these transcripts was from a state normal school and the second from a city normal school and both required these courses with no

¹ Educational Monographs, Studies in Education, No. XII, 1923, pp. 33-34.

choice for any of the students entering as teachers into any one of the eight grades of elementary school service.

Note the nature of these two programs. The first required 1700 recitation hours, either in practice or the study of methods and devices, 120 hours in subjects immediately related to the problem of teaching and 180 hours that bore only indirectly, if at all, on the problem of teaching. No attention was given to subject-matter. The second program required 1740 hours of practice teaching, methods and devices, and 260 in principles underlying the practices. No subject-matter required. These courses represent one extreme of practice in the training of elementary school teachers and indicate that the makers of these curricula had pretty definitely in mind one objective; namely, skill in school room practice. They aimed at as nearly as possible perfection of the devices and methods at present in vogue in their communities and in the schools for which they were training. They took no account of the needs of behavior changes in the children that these aspiring teachers were to instruct.

The other extreme is represented by a transcript which included the academic subjects of solid geometry, college algebra, and trigonometry, Livy and Tacitus, modern languages, European history, with educational subjects as follows: the history of education, psychology, school management, general method, and a half dozen hours of practice teaching. No courses in special methods and no subject-matter courses that would bear in the least upon the problem of the elementary curriculum were included. The fact that graduates of this normal school began teaching in the small town and rural schools did not affect the character of the curriculum in the least. The course seems to be the vestigial remains of a nineteenth century educational philosophy, the academic practices of that century, and is designed to fit any condition. The training presumably was kept so general that the graduates would not be handicapped by the training received in any position to which they might aspire. Such a program could perhaps not be found in a normal school or teachers college today. It is characteristic of the training in many of the academic colleges from which 75% of the product enter the elementary and secondary school service.

In the Twenty-Fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education I pointed out another fact of significance about the conservatism of institutions engaged in the work of teacher train-

ing.² This study showed that normal schools did not regard the problem of accident prevention as one coming within the scope of teacher training.

It is interesting and instructive to note the practice of the public schools of the country as indicating what school men, facing the educational problem in their communities thought of it and to compare their practice with the institutions that are training teachers for the public schools. A questionnaire was sent out by the writer as Chairman of the Education Section of the National Safety Council in 1923. The questionnaire was sent to the cities of the United States with a population of more than ten thousand. Two hundred ninety replies were returned in time to be included in the report.³ Summarized, they are as follows:

I. Schools with safety instruction.	
a. Introduced as a part of the curriculum.....	143
b. As a special subject.....	34
c. Both as a special subject and as a part of curriculum..	38
d. Incidental	51
Total	266
II. Schools without safety instruction.....	19
III. Reply without information on this point.....	5
Total all schools.....	290

The statement "Introduced as a part of the curriculum" was explained to mean that accident prevention was regarded as an objective of the whole curriculum and each subject and activity should make its appropriate contribution to the realization of the objective. That is, safety should be taught through language, civics, etc.

The interest thus manifested by the superintendents in accident prevention and the extent to which they had already incorporated instruction in the curriculum, indicates that they are far in advance of the institutions that are training teachers, in recognizing the need of instruction in accident prevention as a fundamental objective of the curriculum. The comparison of the result of these two questionnaires, together with the expression on the part of a large number of superintendents that new teachers are not sufficiently conscious of the accident situation as a social problem and are unable adequately to perform

² Twenty-fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part IX, pp. 310-311.

³ See "We and Our Health," Book IV, by Payne and McCarthy, pp. 144-145.

the requirements of the curriculum, indicates that educational institutions responsible for the training of teachers have not fully faced their responsibilities with reference to the accident situation in the United States, as determined by the needs of the schools as now operated. The normal schools have not conceived the idea of taking the leadership in the formulation of a program for dealing with this problem.

From these data presented we may safely conclude that institutions for the training of teachers have been influenced very largely by the past history of education and not by the present needs of social adjustment in formulating and carrying out their programs. Our thesis is that the needs of the present social life and adjustment must be the determining factor in the construction of curricula for the training of teachers of the present generation. Furthermore that we must set ourselves to the task of developing a new technique that will insure proper emphasis upon social needs and aspirations in school curricula.

The elaboration of this thesis requires an examination of the essential factors in the present social order. It is commonplace to call attention to the fact that social changes have been taking place in a revolutionary fashion in the past half century. It is however worthy of note that in the social change critical maladjustments have developed that can be corrected, if at all, only through school education and that the leadership in the correction of these maladjustments must be placed in the hands of those fundamentally responsible for what goes on in the school room,—the institutions responsible for the training of teachers. Sociologists long since have noted that society moves forward irregularly and the lack of uniformity in progress creates maladjustments and needs of readjustments. This has been particularly true in the past half century. The marked advances or changes that have taken place have been on the one hand in the advance of scientific knowledge as applied to living, commerce and industry and on the other, to the complexity of life relationships, that is, housing, transportation, communication, leisure and the like. But these advances have taken place without appropriate changes in social behavior; that is, changes in behavior patterns. In other words we have a "social lag." The immediate problem of education is that of taking up the social slack, created by the nature of the changing social order. This

is not the only problem but the biggest problem of present day education.

The limitations of this paper do not permit an adequate development of this thesis and we must therefore content ourselves with a brief illustration or two, that will indicate the point of view. One of the best illustrations of the failure of educators to incorporate the results of scientific development into social behavior through an adequate school program may be found in the field of health education. In 1876 Louis Pasteur had demonstrated the facts concerning the spread of disease. He had clearly proved that disease does not originate spontaneously. He had proved that germ life, bacteria and protozoa, do not develop out of nothing and are not created by the will of Providence for the purpose of punishing recalcitrant individuals who transgressed His will. In a word he demonstrated that at least a large number of diseases are infectious and are caused by the spread of germs through natural means; such as food, drink, air, contact, and other similar means of infection. This demonstration laid the basis for the control of numerous diseases such as typhoid, malaria, yellow fever, tuberculosis and other scourges bringing with them unhappiness and disaster.

What now happened to this body of scientific knowledge? Scientifically minded men became active and set about to discover the means and the specific ways of disease transmission. They went further and began to incorporate into legislation means for the control of disease. Under their influence departments of public health were created. These have done their work effectively in the control of communicable disease. As a result, we have witnessed the rapid decline of the death rate, and of infant mortality, and the general improvement of health. No chapter of history is more sensational or thrilling than that dealing with the scientific control of disease through the purification of water supply, through supervision of the food supply, through inoculation, and by other means which have been used.

So much for that. But what have the educators done with this body of knowledge? When we go through the text books, the school programs, the curriculum studies we find that to all appearance educators have been largely unconscious of these scientific changes. Schools retain even to the present time physiologies which take little account of scientific changes. Other texts show little influence of modern health

development. Histories, geographies, language texts, etc., although considerably influenced by other matters in which educators have been interested, show little trace of the social demands that have been created by the remarkable advance of preventive medicine and the needs of constructive health practice.

This general statement may also be confirmed by reference to several surveys made in recent years. The Gary survey by the Federal Children's Bureau dealing with 6015 children of pre-school age indicates an almost universal violation among these children and their families of common health practices relating to food, exercise, sleep, and the other essentials of healthful living. The results of this survey have been confirmed by my surveys in St. Louis, Texas, and New York City, and yet when we examine the school program, and particularly the programs of the institutions concerned with the training of teachers, almost no account is taken of the health needs of the children and adults of the country as displayed in these surveys. Numerous examples might be cited. In a New York community in which a survey showed that 95% of the children were suffering from incipient rickets and facing the dire consequences of this unnecessary disease, a teacher of a seventh grade sub-normal group was found to be teaching the skeleton, the framework of the body, the muscles, the processes of digestion, and devoting one week to a study of neurones. This moreover was the sum total of the health instruction in that class. In spite of recent efforts to give more adequate attention to the health needs of children, this case is certainly not unusual. As a matter of fact it represents the type of the knowledge acquired concerning the human body and its needs in many of our normal schools.

We are not simple enough to assume that the schools can accomplish everything that is proposed in the way of social reform, but certainly it is not too much to assume that if the educators of the country had been concerned with the school as an instrument for changing social behavior, the body of scientific knowledge together with the habits and attitudes that should have been changed in the population to conform to the developing knowledge relating to healthful living would have become long since functional in the life of the present generation. As a matter of fact our educational theory and practice have not been concerned at all with the type of knowledge, habits, and attitudes that would affect social behavior.

The result of this failure on the part of the schools, moreover, delayed the beginning of active efforts for the purification of the water supply on a large scale until the beginning of the twentieth century; it delayed the pasteurization of milk until toward the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, and the care of foods till somewhat later. As a matter of fact these practices essential in the promotion of health have been by no means universally adopted, and the spread of knowledge leading to their adoption has been affected chiefly by other agencies than the schools. Even in spite of the work of other agencies not primarily concerned with education, the schools are not now performing the work essential either to community or to individual health practices. Health instruction is not given a serious place in the schools. Educators have tardily followed the lead of other agencies, and usually upon the insistence of the other agencies to give their attention to the body of scientific knowledge that requires at the present a transformation of social behavior, particularly health behavior.

The development of scientific knowledge represents one aspect of the social development behind which social behavior has lagged. The other equally startling advance and the one we wish to use as an illustration here, is the material aspect of our civilization; the inventions and their application to modern living. The mere mention of a few of these is sufficient for our purposes. Among the most significant are those affecting means of communication, rapid transportation, local, national and even international, and the conditions of living resulting from these developments.

Let us take a simple illustration, the automobile. The automobile is a twentieth century product. It has become an essential of present day life within the past fifteen years. The activities of society could no more be carried on without this instrument today than they could without street cars, subways or the elevated. Take away either and immediately urban life would have to be revolutionized. Fifteen years ago, however, the automobile was not a significant feature of our life. There were fewer than a million altogether in the country, and accidents from automobiles seldom occurred. Today we kill 23,000 people annually and severely injure a half million more. This slaughter of the innocent is unnecessary. It results from the development of an instrument, a necessity of modern life, but one that is

unsuited to our present mode of behavior,—our knowledge, habits and attitudes. We have definite experiments indicating that attention to the accident situation in the school curriculum would not only facilitate the mastery of the subject matter of the present curriculum but would actually in a large measure prevent accidents among the children and adults of the community. In spite of the fact that demonstrative experiments were carried out along this line nine year ago and books and magazine articles were devoted to the character and results of the demonstrations, as experiments in curriculum reconstruction, it was only a year ago that one of our leading curriculum makers stated publicly that he had just discovered that accident prevention was a problem of the curriculum and must be taken into account in an adequate curriculum readjustment.

Another case equally in point is the health situation growing out of the kind of life induced by the conditions that have developed in urban communities incident to the changed social and material relationships; the method of food supply, the individualization of the family, the crowded commercial activities in the streets, the absence of playgrounds, etc. The most exaggerated case in the country is perhaps the Harlem district in New York City. We have here an urban crowded community. In the food stores, delicatessens, groceries, and bake shops of the community there are hundreds of varieties of foods from which selection may be made and which requires intelligent selection to secure a properly balanced diet. There is no play space and the congested conditions of the streets makes play in them impossible. Here we have a totally new problem of social behavior. The type of life induced by the social conditions has developed a high infant mortality rate, approximately 20% ; 95% of the children have incipient rickets. There is, however, actually no reason why adequate health and safety might not be maintained in this community. A high state of health and efficiency are maintained in other similar communities in New York City. Efficiency under the conditions of life, however, requires a new mode of behavior that can only be insured through the schools and a new school program. Neither the normal schools nor the public schools of this community have been deeply concerned with the health of its population.

One other case in illustration must suffice. Professor Thrasher has recently published his study of gang life in Chicago, the only scien-

tific study of gangs so far made. He points out that 35,000 youth, 10% of all boys between the ages of ten and twenty years, are members of predatory gangs. From this group of predatory gangs has developed in the past and is developing at the present the criminal underworld of Chicago. To be sure various types of social leaders are salvaged from these predatory groups, such as the ward leader in politics and even business and professional leaders. But the salvaging process so far as it goes on is an incidental accompaniment of the social life and may be regarded as accidental. The social settlements are responsible for the major part of the salvaging process so far as it is done. The schools certainly have no part in it. The schools, so far as can be determined, are unconscious of the nature of the problem or the means of its solution. Curriculum construction and reconstruction goes merrily on without regard to this element in the social situation and without regard for the need of modifying the social behavior, the establishing of behavior patterns, the readjustment of social groups, and the substitution of activities that will provide for the needs satisfied in these predatory groupings.

Professor Thrasher localizes the problem definitely. He says: "One of the most important elements in the situation which promotes the free life of the gang is the failure of the immigrant to control his children in Chicago. Since about two-thirds of the parents of delinquent boys in Chicago are peasants from rural areas and villages in Europe, it is not strange that they do not know how to manage their children in such a new and totally different environment."⁴ It is not only true that the schools are not conscious of the problem involved in this situation but the character of the school program actually accentuates the problem of family control and causes family breakdowns where they would not otherwise occur.

Are we however justified in assuming that the institutions of the country which provide the teaching staff are not alive to these problems of social behavior so vital to the life of American communities? This question can be definitely answered in the affirmative. A study now in process by a graduate student in the School of Education in New York University has progressed far enough to indicate that these institutions are not seriously attacking the problem of health and the needs of health education as they have developed in American life. A recent

⁴ "The Gang," F. M. Thrasher, University of Chicago Press, p. 489.

study of some five hundred institutions,⁵ all or most of whose graduates enter the profession of teaching, displays the fact that little or no effort is made through the curriculum of these institutions to attack the social problems outlined in the present discussion, or to effect those changes in social behavior, the need for which is indicated by such studies of social conditions as have been made to the present. It would obviously be unfair for me to say that the curricula of teacher training schools fail in all respects to equip their output for the real job of education, that is modifying the social behavior of the pupils whom they teach. All that we can say is that so far as scientific studies of social needs have been made, no conscious effort is evident to set up a curriculum that would meet those needs. If in spite of no conscious effort the curriculum does serve that purpose the result may be regarded as accidental.

Finally what can we say of curriculum making in general? Perhaps we are justified in assuming that the unofficial claims of those responsible for the latest word on the curriculum—the Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, is justified and that this publication represents what the so-called leading educators are thinking. If so then we must conclude that the leading educators are not thinking at all of the most fundamental factors in curriculum reconstruction. The limits of this paper will not permit a detailed discussion of this Yearbook. However, a careful examination of it indicates that the writers are concerned with the mechanics of curriculum construction in terms of a psychological technique, and that the social needs have been almost wholly ignored. Problems, fundamental to education, such as are outlined in this paper, have not appeared in the consciousness of these writers. If they have, no evidence appears in this Yearbook to warrant a conclusion to that effect.

A word must be said in conclusion concerning the problem of curriculum reconstruction in schools responsible for the training of our teaching staff. The educators in these institutions must cut loose from the present method of curriculum reconstruction; they must diagnose their problem in terms of the social needs and aspirations of their communities, and must begin a reconstruction of their programs in terms of those needs.

⁵ Harvey Lee, "The Status of Educational Sociology in Normal Schools, Teachers Colleges and Universities"—New York University Press Book Store.

THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE CURRICULUM AND SOCIOLOGY

GEORGE S. COUNTS
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IN educational circles today the school curriculum is rapidly coming into its inheritance. The fundamental importance of the program of studies is gradually receiving recognition, and within a decade we have seen the attention of students of education shift from the development of tests and scales with which to measure the products of instruction over to a critical examination of the materials of instruction themselves. More and more insistently are we asking ourselves whether these acquisitions which we are learning to measure so accurately are really worth acquiring. The various professional organizations are attacking the problem. The National Society for the Study of Education has just issued a yearbook of 688 pages on the practice and theory of curriculum making. School systems through the country, both local and state, are feverishly revising their programs. And every educational writer, who finds time hanging heavy on his hands, who yearns to give rein to his creative faculties, or who feels under obligation to bring salvation to a wicked world, writes a book on the curriculum. Even in teachers' institutes and convention the curriculum has become a major topic for debate and discussion.

What is the rôle which sociology should play in this attack upon the curriculum? This is the question with which the present paper is concerned. That sociology has a responsibility here is obvious. Since the days of Herbert Spencer and Lester F. Ward the sociologists have interested themselves in the problem and have thrown much light upon it. Indeed the thesis could be defended that the growing interest in the curriculum is traceable in large part to the increasing influence of sociology upon the formulation of educational theory. In the writings and investigations of such men as Bobbitt, Charters, Rugg, Snedden, and others, men who have borne heavy burdens in the movement for curriculum revision, this influence is unmistakable. But let us return to a consideration of the question.

The experience of those who have been studying this curriculum problem shows clearly that the task of selecting and organizing the

materials of instruction must rest upon the twin foundations of psychology and sociology. This statement of course is based upon an assumption which some persons would not be willing to grant, namely, that the fundamental purpose of education is to induct the child into life of the group, to train him in the use of its institutions, to teach him to cherish and guard its possessions, and to instil in him the desire to promote its welfare. If this, or something closely akin to it, does constitute the great purpose of education, then it naturally follows that those sciences which deal most intimately with the nature of man and society must furnish the major guidance in the construction of the educational program. Whether psychology or sociology will prove the more helpful is a question we are in no position to answer today. Experience alone will tell us. Thus far the psychologists have for the most part held the field, not because they had any inherent right to it, but rather because they were the first arrivals. At least in its applications to education sociology stands where psychology stood at the opening of the present century before Cattell, Thorndike, Judd, Terman, and others had done their work.

Assuming that the purpose of education is fundamentally social, we may now proceed to an examination of the particular contributions which the sociologist may be expected to make to the construction of the school curriculum. But since an adequate treatment of the subject of this paper is impossible in the time allotted, it seems the part of wisdom to direct attention to a few problems which lie peculiarly within the province of the sociologist and which are assuming an especially urgent form today. The discourse will therefore be organized about three topics: the task of the school, the appraisal of the curriculum, and the control of education. Here are three problems which are basic to the development of a sound school program. Their solution requires the help of the sociologist.

The Task of the School

The first great need in the construction of the school curriculum is to discover the special task of the school. This is clearly a problem for the sociologist. The school is but one among many educational agencies and forces in society. It touches the ordinary individual directly for only seven or eight years in the course of his life and during this period for less than one-fifth of his waking hours. More-

over, except where the nursery school has appeared, his most plastic years are lived under the supervision of other agencies. During the pre-school age his education is largely in the hands of his parents; during the period of school attendance, the home, the playground, the theatre, the church, and the community, perpetually engage his attention; and after his school days are over, shop, factory, club, civic organization, and political party exercise increasing dominion over him. Whenever the individual enters into communication with his fellows, whenever he adjusts himself to his environment, whenever he reflects on experience, the process of education goes on.

All of this means that the school is a highly specialized educational agency. Consequently, anyone who constructs a program of education on the assumption that the school is the only important educational institution and that the highly specialized character of its educational contribution need not be considered, is building on the sands. Thus an activity analysis of contemporary life, while very illuminating to one who is engaged in the task of curriculum making, does not automatically give us the school program. To the writer, the vocational education movement has sometimes been guilty of the error of disregarding the specialized character of the school. We have thus witnessed the school duplicating the work of other agencies and neglecting to perform the task which it alone can perform. But whatever may be the verdict on vocational education the fact remains that the school is a specialized institution and that we, if we are to avoid the fallacy of the specialist, must view our task through the eye of the scientist. Because of our long years of training in and our subsequent intimate association with the school we have come under its influence to a much larger degree than have the other members of our generation. As a consequence we are inclined to exaggerate the importance of the school and are rendered almost incapable of seeing it in proper perspective. The natural corrective of this bias of the specialist is a balanced view of the entire educational task of our society and of the contributions of its various educational agencies. At present the school and the teachers who staff it constitute one of the great vested interests of **society which**, in competition with other interests, ever struggles for a larger place in the sun. Even as I utter these words, I feel guilty of a certain disloyalty to my professional compatriots and to the "cause" of education. Nevertheless this unbiased evaluation must be

made, and until it is done no school curriculum worthy of defense can be developed.

The Appraisal of the Curriculum

A second large task which demands attention is that of appraising the curriculum. And until a technique is developed for achieving this purpose, no curriculum can be constructed which will enable the school to perform **effectively its special functions**. By appraisal I do not mean the sort of thing that we have commonly done in our school surveys. Genuine appraisal must involve something more fundamental than the bringing in of "experts" to pass judgment on prevailing practice in terms of "best practice" elsewhere or in terms of the theories which the experts hold. These theories will always be necessary instruments in appraising any particular program, but they must rest upon a more objective basis than they do at present. The appeal here is for a type of fundamental research which must be organized and prosecuted by the sociologist. The current methods and instruments of appraisal must be approved.

If the purposes of the school are formulated in terms of social life and welfare, the appraisal of its program must be made in the same terms. Nothing reveals more emphatically the formal character of the school than the various tests and scales which have been developed to measure school products. The school constitutes a little world of its own and its success is measured in terms of its own procedures. We test our pupils for knowledge of algebra, history, latin and chemistry, and if they do well on our examinations, we feel that the school is discharging its social obligations. Clearly the need is for a new type of appraisal, an appraisal which measures educational procedure in terms of its effect on social behavior outside the school. We must confess that for the most part such an appraisal is lacking today. We know how well our pupils have mastered the subject matter of the curriculum; but as to the effect this will have upon them as members of society we have but little knowledge. With regard to certain of the more obvious and simple acquirements such as reading, writing, spelling and the narrower vocational knowledges and skills, we can make fairly trustworthy guesses. But if we pass by the tool subjects and the more practical courses, we enter a sphere where dense ignorance prevails. What one of us knows how a year's schooling in geography,

history, French, or biology affects the subsequent behavior of a pupil? Although I recognize fully the almost insurmountable difficulties to be encountered in any attempt to make a broad social appraisal of the curriculum, I am convinced that it will be impossible to construct a curriculum intelligently until some success in this direction is attained. And such an appraisal will have to be largely the work of the sociologist.

The Control of Education

If we assume now that we possess the technique for developing a defensible curriculum we still face the task of introducing this curriculum into the school and of making it effective. This is a third task which belongs largely to the student of society. A major reason for the ineffectiveness of much of the theorizing about education from the time of Plato down to the present is that it failed to get into the school. Today, in so far as the modification of the school program is concerned, our thinking is likewise and for the same reason likely to be futile.

This suggests the necessity of investigating thoroughly the forces that control the school. We need to study the forces which operate both within and without the institution. We need to know much more definitely than we do today how the school board functions and what forces work upon it. Likewise the role played by the pupil, the teacher, and the community must be understood. Studies of the character should reveal to us the limitations under which the school operates. That they might reduce the measure of optimism with which we approach the educational task is possible. But an optimism based upon ignorance is hardly to be defended. We may actually find that, as it sometimes appears, the school is always the tool of the dominant forces of the present or of some preceding age. If this is true, we should cease to speak of the school as an instrument of social progress. Perhaps the school can never become a genuinely creative force in society. If so, the sooner we know this the better.

The Limitations of Sociology and the Scientific Method¹

In concluding this paper a word should be said regarding the limitations of sociology and of the scientific method. It would be pleasing

¹ Adapted from article by the author in *The Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II, The Foundations of Curriculum Making*, pp. 87-90.

to believe that we have in the objective study of man and society a method by which all educational disagreements may be dispelled. The present paper has possibly suggested the omnipotence in this matter of the sciences of psychology and sociology. Such a suggestion, however, was not intended. Only within certain limits may it be regarded as true. The reason is to be found in the fact that education has to do with welfare, and when one approaches the question of welfare, one seems to pass outside the confines of objective science. The critic immediately asks whether, in the formulation of the doctrine of welfare, equal regard is to be paid to the interest of all classes, sects, and races, whether health is to be promoted at the expense of aesthetic enjoyment, or whether the criteria of artistic appreciation are to be those of the Hottentot, the French or the Chinese civilization. Scientific method can give no satisfying and conclusive answers to these questions. It can remove intellectual error, but it can hardly purify morals, refine manners, or elevate the aesthetic taste. In vain have we sought an objective definition of progress. The difficulty lies in the fact that progress implies movement forward, and the direction in which one moves in advancing depends upon one's orientation. Every man sees the world through his own eyes; every society faces the universe in its own way. What is progressive, or beautiful, or even good, is a product of the reaction of the individual or the group upon experience. Within the bounds of a single culture a large measure of agreement may be expected, but as the culture varies, disagreements appear. The ends which men regard as worthy are as diverse as civilization. And the increase of knowledge, if that were not accompanied by a general inter-penetration of cultures, could hardly be expected to produce likemindedness.

The bearing of this discussion on curriculum-making is plain. The fundamental goals of education cannot be determined by scientific method. They are the product of a process of evaluation which, while dependent on the results of science, cannot be identified with those results. As man learns more about the world in which he lives, these goals will be modified and, let us hope, improved; but men will always disagree in some measure regarding the nature of the good life. Some will perhaps be inclined to judge the universe in terms of material prosperity, others in terms of beauty, and perhaps others in terms of justice. But, when once the purposes of goals of education are deter-

mined, the field is cleared for the work of educational science. There must be certain best methods for achieving these purposes. The discovery of those methods is the burden which scientific method must carry. We cannot hope that science can give us a complete educational philosophy, but it can at least give us an effective educational technique. After the larger goals are set, there is no educational problem which cannot be attacked by the methods of science. And even the selection of the goals must reflect the advancement and the refinement of knowledge, as it must reflect all experience. Whatever measure of stability lies within the bounds of education will be the product of the operation of the scientific method, but the definition and formulation of human purposes, upon which education is dependent, will always lie somewhat beyond the reach of science.

RESEARCH IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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THE variety of opinion revealed in the papers read in the section on Educational Sociology at the Christmas meeting of the American Sociological Society, and the *mélange* now taught as educational sociology,¹ tempt one to paraphrase Dr. Stuart Queen to the effect that the great question now facing educational sociology is whether it shall be a science or a garbage can. The writer believes that educational sociology is concerned with a distinct group of problems, to which may be applied the method of natural science. But before outlining the research procedure indicated by such a belief, it may be well to clear the way by a brief discussion of the problem of education, of the nature of sociology, and the application of sociological method in educational research which currently is known as educational sociology.

Educationists are divided as to the meaning of the word education. One group would include under education all those experiences through which the person's behavior is modified in the direction of more effectual social adjustment. It is obvious, however, that, while being hit by a taxi-cab, activities on the playground, "reeducation" in the psychiatric clinic, and the procedure of the school all may result in modification of behavior in the direction of social adjustment, the situations are various, and where techniques are involved they are vastly different. The attempt of educationists to make "education" include all acquisitions of experience is fraught with the same danger as the attempt of the psychoanalysts to make "sex" cover all behavior. "Education" becomes so vague a term as to have no analytical value. The writer prefers to confine the use of the word "education" to the description of the consciously directed effort to modify behavior, with the technique of the teacher, in the school situation.

The School, like every self-conscious social group, faces three problems: the problem of policy, What do we want to do? the problem of human nature, What facts about human nature must be taken into

¹ Lee, Harvey: *The Status of Educational Sociology in Normal Schools, Teachers' Colleges, Colleges and Universities*. New York. University Press Book Store, 1927.

consideration? and the administrative problem, What machinery can we set up most efficiently to carry out our policy? The philosophy of education is meeting the first problem with the affirmation that the aim of education is the "adaptation of the child to living in our contemporary civilization." School Administration is working out the solution of the third problem. The human nature problem has been divided between educational psychology and educational sociology. Educational psychology has interested itself in the technique of building new habits into the organism. The experiments of the University of Chicago School of Education with eye movements in reading represent the ultimate refinement of this technique.² While admirable as psychological research, such experiments are relatively inconsequential unless paralleled by studies into the processes of social adjustment which will enable us to put content into our now too empty formula of education as adaptation. It is in just such studies that educational sociology is interested.

Since educational sociology consists in the application of the sociological technique to human nature problems arising in education, it may be well briefly to mention the present trend in sociology. We still have our "sociologies" (as the psychologists have their "psychologies"—so interestingly shown by the volume *Psychologies of 1925*, recently sponsored by Dr. Murchison). Sociologists seem, however, to be converging upon some such conception as the following. The sociologist's task is not merely that of dallying on the banks of the Nile, trading stones with naked savages; his task is not the zealous rehabilitation of broken families and shipwrecked personalities; his task is not that of closeting himself with a tabulating machine and computing death rates, suicide rates, divorce rates; nor is his task that of dreaming in his study of why the mills of the Gods grind slowly and fine. He is not merely ethnologist, social worker, statistician, nor philosopher, though he has use for their data and techniques. The sociologist is interested, rather, in the analysis of the mechanisms of social behavior—exactly as the psychologist is interested in the analysis of the mechanisms of individual behavior.

² Such studies are curiously reminiscent of the recently fashionable efficiency engineer in industry. Even in industry, where policy is clearly defined in terms of low cost production, these studies have often been dubious in application. In education, where our goal is not so well defined, they are of questionable import.

The problems of Sociology fall roughly, into three groups: the analysis of (1) those relatively stable constellations or attitudes which we call "groups"—the community, family, gang, church, school, and the like—in their ecological, cultural, political and historical aspects; of (2) the definition of the relatively diffused, random innate impulses of the individual of the psychologist after the patterns of the social group, and the adjustment of the resulting personality to social situations; and of (3) the mechanisms involved in the less stable forms of collective behavior such as mass movements, mobs, fashion and the public. That is, sociology is the science of social behavior.³

To return to Educational Sociology, we have said that it is interested in the application of the sociological technique to the problems of social behavior that cluster about the school (as the school attempts to modify the child's behavior in the direction of social adjustment)—the analysis of the social situation to which the child must adjust, of the behavior mechanisms involved in personal adjustment, of the school group as collective behavior, and of the implications of this analysis for curriculum, classroom organization and method. Moreover, Educational Sociology is interested in working out a technique for measuring, not the acquisition of "Knowledge" as reflected in verbal behavior, but the changes in total behavior in the direction of social adjustment that result from instruction.

Rather than outline the theoretical implications of such a conception of Educational Sociology for research, the writer will discuss briefly some research projects now under way in the School of Education of New York University.

(1) *Analysis of the school as a social situation.* It need hardly be insisted in this age of "socialization" of the curriculum that the procedure of the class room cannot be determined with reference to the learning process alone. Socialization of the curriculum, however, has for the most part meant merely adding to the curriculum facts about the larger social life. This procedure is undoubtedly of value—both for the future adjustment of the child and for the control of the com-

³ The techniques involved in sociological research are discussed in a recent volume, *Methods of Sociological Research*, by Brown, Kreuger, Quinn, Reckless, Shaw, Thrasher and Zorbaugh.

Maurer's *Family Disorganization* contains an excellent discussion of case analysis. Thomas' *Social Aspects of the Business Cycle* and Slawson's *The Delinquent Boy* have excellent discussions of the use of statistical technique in social analysis.

munity. But still education largely ignores the fact that *learning takes place in a social situation*, and that the nature of the attitudes involved in this situation conditions the process of instruction. That is, the school room is a group of interacting personalities, the teacher being one of these personalities. Clinical studies of the problem child in school bear abundant testimony to this fact. But little or no research has been directed at the analysis of the school as a form of social behavior. Numerous projects at once suggest themselves. Among those underway at New York University are studies of "Social Suggestion and Learning," "The Rôle in the School Group of the So-Called Incurable" and "An experimental Study of Racial Attitudes in School Children."

Educational Sociology is also interested in experimenting with various forms of social situations as a basis for class room organization—observing their effect upon the personality traits of the child and upon his social adaptability after he leaves the school. Experimental schools such as *The City and Country School* of Manhattan and *The Ethical Culture School* of Brooklyn afford interesting laboratories for this sort of research. The School of Education of New York University is soon to have a series of experimental schools from Kindergarten through college where many research projects into the effect of various types of social situation upon the learning, attitudes and adaptability of the child will be carried on.

Extra-curricular activities afford a further fertile field for experimenting with social situations.

In spite of the fact that extra-curricular activities have amounted almost to a fad, and that there is a wealth of literature on the subject, few of these experiments have been carefully enough analyzed to have much value as research. An opportunity for a real contribution to our knowledge of social behavior lies in this field. Perhaps nowhere is there better opportunity for observation of experimentally controlled social situations.

(2) *Studies in the relationship of school and community.* The word community has long been in our language. But only recently have we become aware of the significance of the community's rôle in determining the behavior of its members. Research into community life, such as that sponsored by the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Foundation, has revealed that there is no longer an American culture.

Communities vary tremendously in their customs, mores, techniques, controls, in the experiences they afford their members and in the attitudes they build into the behavior of their members. The cultural situation in the community determines the frame of reference which the child brings to the school, in the light of which he interprets his school experience. The construction of relatively standardized curricula, though deduced from the most inspired "objectives," must remain a highly artificial procedure in view of the diverse types of community life represented in country, town and city—especially in our larger cities which are mosaics of distinct cultural worlds. Each school exists in a community. The child while entering the school remains a member of that community. The effectiveness of the school's efforts to modify the child's behavior is conditioned by the degree to which it has analyzed and adapted itself to the cultural life of the community.

The School of Education of New York University is attempting to work out a new type of school survey which will afford to the school an adequate analysis of the social patterns of the community in which it is situated. At the same time the School of Education is undertaking a program of research studies in the communities of New York City, with the dual purpose of developing the survey technique and of building up a body of actual knowledge on the social situations of the New York Public schools. It is hoped that opportunity will eventually be afforded for experiments in reconstruction of curriculum, class room organization, and method in terms of the specific community situations in which schools find themselves.⁴

(3) *The behavior clinic and the experimental school.* In the modern welter of mental and educational tests, we have tended to forget that the child is a personality as well as an intelligence, that the child has attitudes as well as abilities. Our knowledge of the processes involved in the formation of personality traits and in the adjustment of personalities to social situations is still little above the common-sense level.⁵ Yet such a knowledge is the vital factor in "adjusting the child to living in our contemporary civilization."

⁴ "An Experimental Study of the Development and Measurement of Health Practices of Elementary School Children," by Mary Best Gillis. (Unpublished.)

⁵ The unconvinced need but read Healy's recent book, *Delinquents and Criminals: Their Making and Unmaking*, to be persuaded.

The School of Education of New York University is projecting a research behavior clinic, under the department of educational sociology, which it is hoped will contribute its bit to the knowledge of the processes of social adjustment that clinics throughout the country are slowly accumulating. The *Social Behavior Clinic* will be unique in at least two respects. It will be directed by a sociologist, and will devote more than ordinary effort to the analysis of the relationship of social situations to personality adjustment. It will have, in the School of Education's experimental schools, opportunity for manipulation of the child's school situation heretofore largely denied to behavior clinics.

(4) *Social Measurement.* Education, in terms of capital investment alone, is one of America's greatest enterprises. And yet education has shown a lack of curiosity about the nature of its product that would not be tolerated for a moment in industry. One cannot conceive of a manufacturer of locomotives who was not constantly checking up on the performance of his product. But what do we know about the performance of the product of our schools?

Our educational tests are tests of verbal behavior only. They tell us little or nothing as to how the child may be expected to behave outside the school. If we are ever to evaluate the effectiveness of education in actually effecting the child's social adjustment, we must contrive devices for measuring changes, not in his verbal behavior as reflected in achievement tests, but in his total behavior in family and community. Dr. E. George Payne's experiment in the measurement of health education, in New York Public School 106, is a pioneer step in this direction. The technique consisted in selecting an experimental and a control group, in contriving a scale of health practices, and rating, with the aid of trained social workers who observed the children in their homes, the children's health habits; in teaching a model health curriculum to the experimental group; and in then re-rating both control and experimental groups against the scale. While this procedure lacks the objectivity and precision of the achievement test, it yields far more significant data—a knowledge of how far instruction has carried over into social behavior. Further experiments in social measurement, which are now under way under Dr. Payne's direction, may be expected to lead to an increasingly objective technique.⁶

⁶ "Method and Measurement of Health Education," by E. George Payne & John C. Gebhart. Published by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

Other types of research might be mentioned. None would prove more significant, perhaps, than a careful study of the *social* performance of the products of our many types of "experimental" schools. But enough has been said to indicate the variety of research opportunities open to the educational sociologist. Educational sociology may well take a leaf from the history of educational psychology. If educational sociology is to justify itself as a university discipline and as an integral part of education, it must, like educational psychology, carve for itself a niche through productive research.

WHAT IS EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY?

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EDUCATIONAL sociology is not primarily a sociological study of educational institutions and processes. It should be primarily sociology, and not education. It is sociology applied to the whole problem of education, just as educational psychology is psychology applied to the problem of education. There is, however, this difference. Educational sociology is probably even more closely related to general sociology than educational psychology is to general psychology. This at least will be the thesis of this paper, though the writer is not trying to judge the situation in psychology. He wishes merely to emphasize a fact which seems to have been overlooked by a majority of both educationists and sociologists namely, that educational sociology not only starts with, but it deals with, the most vital and central aspects of general sociology. Educational sociology is not, therefore, a superficial aspect or branch of general sociology. On the contrary, it is the very heart, so to speak, of general sociology, so far as the latter is the science of human society. From the development of educational sociology we may therefore expect not only great help in solving the practical problems of education, but also a revitalization and humanization of the science of sociology itself.

What is the ground for making these somewhat startling statements? The ground is the fundamental identity of the human social process and the educative process, a fact which has been strangely overlooked by both sociologists and educators. We are familiar *ad nauseam* with the interpretation of the social process in terms of food, reproduction, defense, geography, and race. These physical factors, to be sure, do largely account for the group life of the animals below man, and no one would deny that they are basic also in human group life. But the emphasis upon these factors quite completely overlooks the differential factor in human social life, which is the factor of "culture" in the anthropological sense of the term. All human groups possess culture, but so far as we know no animal group has culture. For culture consists of behavior patterns socially acquired and socially

transmitted. There is nothing in the rest of nature to compare with the social diffusion of behavior patterns in human groups; for we must be careful to exclude from culture those cases of natural reaction socially or sympathetically excited, as when the fright of one animal gives rise to fright in another. Culture consists in the knowledge, skills, and standards which are utilized in the making of tools, institutions, and group organization. Its vehicle is language in some form. We have culture thus only when individuals learn to modify their conduct through what is communicated to them by other individuals. All culture is therefore learned. If we say that the essence of culture lies in invention, whether of a physical tool or of a social relationship, the new adjustment or invention is learned by the experimentation of inventive individuals, and then the new adjustment or invention is diffused through the group by some means of intercommunication. Thus the whole process of culture is a learning process, both on its individual and social sides. The culture of a group, looked at externally, is a mass of acquired habits which are learned by the individuals of the group by some means of intercommunication; looked at on its inner side, the culture of a group is a mass of mental patterns, of ideas and values which have become diffused through the group by intercommunication and which control its behavior and relations.

Now, culture, as we have said, is the distinguishing mark of human society. It is what makes it human. We know of no human groups that do not possess language, tools, and institutions. These are the marks of culture, and their acquisition and use depends upon an educational process within the group. Human groups from the start have been human, in other words, only because their whole behavior and life have been dominated by a learning process. Intercommunication in human groups plays about the same part in regulating and standardizing behavior within the group which biological heredity or instinct plays in animal groups. The human social process is thus seen to be essentially educative from the start. Education is not something which has been superadded to human society or which is a relatively late invention. On the contrary, education of some sort has always been necessary to the existence of human groups as human. The educative process is that phase of the social process by means of which the continuity and development of culture has been rendered possible in human groups. Culture, as the dabblers in culture have

always supposed, is dependent upon education; but in a different way from what they imagined. Culture is not dependent upon some formal education which has been fostered by the school. It is dependent upon the natural social process, the process of intercommunication and learning, found in all human groups. Culture is not something confined to a few human groups within the historical epoch. It has been possessed by all human groups from the beginning; because all human groups maintain their existence as human through processes of learning and education on the part of their members.

Just as the learning process in its individual aspects is the central problem of educational psychology, so *the learning process in its social aspects is the central problem of educational sociology*. It must be emphasized that the learning process has social aspects and that these aspects have not yet been sufficiently studied either by sociologists or educationists. When viewed from its social side we usually speak of the learning process as the educative process; but we need to look at the learning process from the standpoint of the group as a whole. There is a collective learning process as well as an individual learning process. We see this collective learning process going on through the forms of communication, group discussion, and the like. They are the processes by which the group controls its collective behavior and brings about collective achievement. They are of the very essence of human group life, and, as we have repeatedly said, are what make it human.

It is commonly recognized that the educative process is necessarily a phase of the social process. If this is so, educational sociology must be the science which aims to reveal the connections at all points between the educative process and the social process. It is the science of the educational phase of the social life, or more exactly, of the educative aspect of the social process. Its business is to show the origin, development, and function of the educative process in human society. If it does this, it can scarcely fail to react upon and enrich general sociology itself.

But our main interest in developing a science of educational sociology must doubtless be for its reaction upon educational institutions and processes in our present society. There can scarcely be any doubt that a science of educational sociology, which makes clear the significance of the educative process for human groups in all stages of their development, will have the utmost reaction upon education in our

present society. It will speedily put an end to the individualistic view of education and all the evils that have followed in the train of that view. It will stop our dabbling with education and our treatment of it as something desirable but superficial and ornamental; for it will show that education is the very life of human groups and of their culture. It will make it plain that the whole process of social adjustment and of culture development in humanity depends upon education; and that the gains or achievements of groups are preserved and transmitted only as the young are educated to appreciate and conserve these achievements. It will also show that social progress is possible in the long run only through the development and enrichment of the educative process. For one, I hope also that the development of educational sociology will bring about the perception by the public that the chief application of sociology is *not* in social work, in the ordinary sense of that phrase, *but in education*.

If educationists wish to make their work scientific they ought to devote themselves with enthusiasm to the development of educational sociology. Its developments I am confident, will transform our whole theory and system of education. It is of course premature to prophesy just the results in detail of the development of the science of educational sociology. But one result will be that it will become plain to everyone that education is and should be nothing but the formalization, projection and intelligent control of the social process. It will be seen that the true functions of the school is to reproduce and control the social process in such a way as to aid the progress of culture in the highest degree. The process of education should be a systematized, rationalized, and morally controlled social process. Just as in the human social process generally, verbal language will be found to be the chief vehicle of culture. In the year to come we are certainly destined to hear less about the education of the hand preceding the education of the mind, etc., and more about the education of the imagination. For human social life is possible only through the fact that we carry in our imagination the images of our fellow human beings or of our human environment. Just as in the social life, if it is to be normal, we see that we must keep free channels of intercommunication between the individuals of the group; so in education we shall see that without the open mind, freedom of thinking, and freedom of teaching, an education which shall be effective for progress will be impossible.

Educational sociology will also teach us that, while the work of culture is necessarily carried on by specialized training, socialization is a more fundamental process than vocational training. The techniques of our various vocations are necessary for carrying on the work of civilization; but even more necessary are the fundamental social attitudes which we practice in the community life. Again, intellectual training that gives the individual disciplined intelligence is the foundation for that social achievement which brings about the progress of civilization. But the social process is something more than an affair of the intellect. Linguistic, intellectual, and vocational training should all be recognized as means, but not as ends. They are the means of appropriating and utilizing the traditions of our culture, but the end is the well-living of the whole community. Hence, educational sociology will make clear that the ideal outside of the school is the same as in the school, a systematized, rationalized, and morally controlled social process. Important as linguistic, intellectual, and vocational training may be, the end is surely the adjustment of the individual, not merely to the organization and institutions of society as they exist, but even more to the social process itself as a process of achievement, of learning, of progress. Concretely this means that the end of education is to fit the individual to function efficiently and dynamically in every social group from the family and local community to the nation and humanity in which he is called to play a part. It should release the individual from bondage to mere tradition, while fitting him at the same time to serve society, not only as an economic producer, but as a husband or wife, a father or mother, a friend and neighbor, a creator of public opinion, and a servant of the public will. Education should develop in the young these dynamic, socially intelligent qualities which the sociologists would include under the term of "good citizenship."

Educational sociology, in other words, will place social intelligence first among the aims of education, and it will demonstrate that social intelligence is impossible in our modern world without social information; that to understand culture and to make education promote a well balanced culture we must make basic in it the knowledge of human history and of human institutions afforded by such studies as history, sociology, economics, and politics. Any educational sociology which is based upon a scientific understanding of the social process will say that such social studies should be made central in the curriculum of

our schools. It will say that this especially should be so in a democracy with a democratic school system, for a democracy is a society in which the people are called upon to solve their own problems, and the opinion and will of every individual counts in determining the wisdom or unwisdom of the policy which shall be adopted by such a society. A democracy, in other words, needs more than any other form of society socialized education for its young; for democracy is the rule of the group mind or public opinion. An unthinking, uninformed, prejudiced democracy is obviously bound to come to grief. Linguistic, intellectual, and vocational training of the young in a democracy is not enough; the young in such a society must be trained to social intelligence and in right social attitudes and values. This is only possible as they are taught to be critically minded toward social movements, tendencies, and institutions.

If it be said that what I have described is a philosophy of education rather than an educational sociology, I shall make no objection provided that it is admitted that it is a *social* philosophy of education. That is indeed what I conceive educational sociology to be. An educational sociology which is limited merely to a study of the social facts in the educational process is hardly worthy of the name of science. Science aims at universal generalizations, and it necessarily contains a philosophical element if it attains to the stage of universal truth. If it be said that we are not yet ready for such an educational sociology, my reply is that the fact gatherers in history, in anthropology, and in contemporaneous social life have more than prepared the way for the stage of generalization. If there are those who still wish to occupy themselves with fact gathering, I have no objection, provided they do not become obstructionists for those of us who wish to generalize. Even faulty generalization is better than no generalization, and to point out bad generalizations is simply to emphasize the need of better ones. This is true for educational sociology as well as for other sciences. My own conclusion is, therefore, that the time has come to develop an educational sociology in the sense of a social philosophy of education based upon an adequate knowledge of anthropological and sociological facts. I think that we need to encourage rather than discourage bold scholarship along these lines. If this is true, one object of this section should be to establish chairs in educational sociology in every school of education in the country.

EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY IN NORMAL SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS' COLLEGES

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THERE are two fundamental theses which underlie the determination of curricula in teacher training institutions. First, such institutions are primarily for the training of teachers. They are not designed to furnish a non-vocational general education. They are not academic junior colleges. Such general education as may be embodied in their curricula must be incidental to vocational training. All curricula should be organized with the vocational objective clearly in mind.

Second, each component part of the curricula of teacher training institutions should perform a definite and a defined functioning part of the whole job. No course merits inclusion because it has been taught, because it is taught, or because somebody else teaches it. It must have a demonstrable function.

Psychology as formerly taught in teacher training institutions, concerned itself with the physiology of the nervous system, animal experimentation, free will, metaphysics. It delved into the mind by means of introspective analysis. It concerned itself little with behavior. It was a purely descriptive and philosophical science. Psychology evolved. It is still in the process of evolution. It has added to itself the prefix, "Educational." The scientific study of individual behavior, including mechanism, expressive activities, and the measurement of those activities, has become its subject matter. It has developed into a concrete, objective science, vitally concerned with the psychological makeup of the learner, the learning process, and the measurement of its products. While the evolutionary process is far from complete, and psychology is still in a state of flux and experimentation involving even its most fundamental conclusions, yet it has established itself as a functioning integral part of every teacher training curriculum.

Sociology, as at present taught in teacher training institutions, is in a position fully comparable with that of the psychology of ten years ago. To be sure, it is ordinarily called Educational Sociology, but it is no more Educational Sociology than the psychology of ten years

ago was Educational Psychology. It is one of two things, either a consideration of the philosophy of society coupled with a sight-seeing tour of social institutions, or else it is not sociology at all, but education.

The courses given are a carry-over from the traditional courses offered in academic colleges, taught by academically trained instructors, using the traditional academic texts and achieving results comparable to those of the customary academic courses. Valuable? To the extent in which the academic courses have proved their value and to that extent alone. But academic purposes differ from the purposes of teacher training. Unless Educational Sociology enables the teacher to do her job better, unless it functions definitely in interpretation of educational situations, it hardly merits inclusion in teacher training curricula.

What is being taught now as Educational Sociology? A hodge-podge. Mr. Harvey Lee of New York University¹ has recently tabulated the replies to a questionnaire sent out by the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology. These are some of the topics treated in teacher training courses in Educational Sociology: General Psychology, Economics, Civics, The Platform, Bionomics, Philosophy of Education, Religious Teachings, and "Apologetics." These are some of the text-books used: Peckstein, "Psychology of the High School Student;" McDougall's "Social Psychology;" Thomas' "Junior High School Life;" Terman's "Hygiene of the School Child;" Allen's "Civics and Health;" Hollingsworth's "Applied Psychology;" and Vollman's "New Testament Sociology."

To be sure, these are the horrible examples. But throughout the country there exists a manifest lack of agreement as to how Educational Sociology should be defined, what its content is, what teaching materials should be used and what its function is. To repeat, Sociology as at present taught is in the position of Psychology a decade ago. It is just beginning to become an experimental instead of a descriptive and philosophical science. Like Psychology, it is in a state of evolution. Like Psychology it must discard many of its ancient gods. But also like Psychology it has a definite value and function in the interpretation of the educative process.

¹ Harvey Lee, *The Status of Educational Sociology in Normal Schools, Teachers' Colleges, Colleges, and Universities*. New York University Press, 1926.

What, then, is this new Educational Sociology? What is its function? What are its problems and its method? How does it interpret the educative process? Why include it in the curricula of teacher training institutions?

First, three definitions. Education is that administrative process which attempts to fit the individual to behave efficiently in the social situations which confront and will confront him. Educational Psychology is that science which seeks to determine the optimum methods by which the behavior of the individual may be conditioned. Educational Sociology is that science which seeks to determine what types of behavior are desirable in the social situations presented by the modern world, and the influence of the various factors in the social environment in opposition to or in furtherance of the educational process. In other words, Education is an administrative process; Educational Psychology seeks to determine how that process shall be carried on; Educational Sociology attempts to ascertain what that process must aim to accomplish and the social conditioners of that process. These are, then, twin determiners of the functioning of education—Educational Psychology chiefly concerned with the study and control of the neural reactions of the learner, and Educational Sociology, chiefly concerned with social values, social attitudes, and the social environment of the learner.

The psychological approach has lead us into many difficulties. How we have measured and tested and I.Q.ed! We have set up tests of accomplishment and have accomplished more and more without regard as to whether the thing accomplished was socially valuable or not. We have perfected methods of memorization, of drill, with little consideration as to the value of the facts memorized or any present or future social use to which they might be put. We have taught all children to read, but we have not considered what they actually do read. Consult the nearest news-stand and find out. We have taken children out of a social world, confined them within brick walls, surrounded them with books and precepts and facts, and at four o'clock or when they are fourteen or eighteen we turn them loose into a social world, muttering to ourselves, "Thank heaven, one more dumb-bell out of the way."

What is the answer? The teacher herself does not know the social world. Frequently the textbook writers do not. Nor does the school,

to the extent that it concerns itself with traditional values alone. It does not know where the child comes from or whither he goes. It has not proved the worth of its history, geography, latin, mathematics, as functioning entities. Take health for example. A Harlem school, scoring 95% in a standardized health test, performed at home 2% of the practises learned. The high school girl studies Shakespeare and reads the True Story Magazine for enjoyment. In Milwaukee, Manhattan, Jersey City and many other cities that magazine heads the list of children's preferences. 25,000 boys leave the schools of Chicago to become part of predatory gangs. The list is endless.

How remedy the situation? By the consideration of the influence of the social world upon the school, of the school upon the social world, of the values of and actual performance in the subjects taught, and by social diagnosis of the individual child. In a word, Educational Sociology.

What does Educational Sociology do? It does not determine what the curriculum shall be by assembling the opinion of teachers. It goes out into the social world and discovers, as far as possible on an objective and experimental basis, the demands of that social world. It is not concerned with job analysis. It wants to know what jobs are worth while. It is not interested in educational administration from the point of view of mechanistic efficiency, but it is interested in the social implications of the administrative process, attempting to ascertain whether that process makes for democracy, socialization and social achievement. Educational method as a technique does not command the attention of the sociologist, but method as a means toward social progress does.

Educational Sociology is concerned with certain aspects of the traditional subject matter of pure sociology, but its emphasis is entirely different. Take, for example, the family. Educational Sociology would not be interested to any large extent in the historical evolution of the family, in polygamy and polygyny or polyandry. It would not gather or recite statistics of race suicide and divorce as things of value in themselves. It would not be interested in the marital relations of the Bushmen, of the Kaffirs or the Fiji Islanders. In other words, it would do hardly any of the things which the traditional sociologists or the traditional texts do. It would, however, be vitally interested in the family from several aspects. Families send children to school;

families influence their social adjustment in a variety of ways; families influence school procedure; most school children are members of family groups and will, at some time, set up families of their own. In the consideration of these things Educational Sociology is interested. John comes to school. What behavior patterns in him have been and are being formed by his family? What family behavior patterns need modification and how can they be changed? What is the bearing of John's family on the educative process? How should John's behavior patterns in relation to his family be changed? How can John be prepared to function to a higher degree when he sets up his own family?

So with crime, poverty, health, vocation, avocation, religion, citizenship, the entire gamut of social situations which John has met, is meeting, or must meet.

These are a few of the questions which present themselves as living subject matter for Educational Sociology:

1. What is the actual health practise of the child?
2. What are the educational imputations of the movie, the newspaper, the sex magazine?
3. What are the social causes of truancy?
4. What is the influence of the gang on boy life? How use the technique of the gang to educational ends?
5. What protective mechanisms need to be set up against modern advertising? against installment buying? against patent medicines? against commercialization of recreation?
6. How promote thrift? conservation? respect for womankind? regard for the rights of others? respect for law?

These questions skim the field. They only indicate a few of the possibilities for investigation.

As has been indicated, the method of Educational Sociology must be, to a very great extent, case study. The factors entering into any given act of social behavior are largely peculiar to those acts, and must be studied individually. The behavior act cannot be found in textbooks, but in the living social world. Therefore, that world becomes the material for Educational Sociology, with case study the method.

Specifically, what does this mean? That the student in training in the teacher-training institution analyze specific family situations, make friends with an immigrant group, study the social background of a

truant, become acquainted with a gang, investigate the influence of the local church, the theatres, the factories, the playground, the magazines, discover the actual health and recreational and civic practises of her children.

This is Educational Sociology. It is still in its infancy. But it is a lusty child and a growing one. It has a real function in the world of education.

The new Educational Sociology merits inclusion in the curricula of teacher-training institutions.

BEHAVIOR-ADJUSTMENTS AND THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM

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SUCCESS both in child life and in adult life must be conceived as growth and integration of personality. The factors which enter into the control of the personality at adolescence are of outstanding importance. From the viewpoint of the child himself these factors are primarily physical. Adolescence is the period of growing up. The boy becomes during a period of five or six years a young man. The little girl becomes a woman.

The Dawn of Adolescence Is a Period of Very Complex Biological and Social Adjustments

Puberty is accompanied by many rather obvious phenomena such as rapid increases in height and weight, changes in facial contour, physical gawkinsness due to uneven growths of bones, tendons, and muscles, and the development of primary sex organs and secondary sex characteristics. There are important changes in the child's circulation; increased blood pressure puts a severe strain upon the heart to perform its added duties. There is the change in pitch and quality of the voice, more marked in boys than in girls.

These developmental characteristics must be thought of in the light of the increasing sex consciousness, sex interests, and sex suppressions which evolve from the interactions of the child's nature and the social *mores* and taboos. The child's social awareness which accompanies the maturation is partly a result and partly a cause of his identification of himself with adulthood. The behavior-adjustments to the social practices and attitudes of the adult world complicate and are complicated by the organic changes that are taking place within the unbelievably complex mechanism—the individual boy or girl.

The human body is made up of thousands of billions of individual cells, each one of which is born, lives, breathes, feeds, excretes, reproduces, dies, and is succeeded by its offspring.¹

¹ Cf. Burnham, W. F.: *The Normal Mind*. D. Appleton & Co., 1924, p. 29.

Each of these individuals harmonizes "with its own inner life some special function for the benefit of the whole, and destined ultimately for an individual death. Day-long, night-long, in this commonwealth that constitutes each one of us, there goes forward as in the body politic the subservience of many individual purposes to one, the sacrifice of individual lives for the advantage of the many, and the birth of new units which replace the dead. . . . And each of these living commonwealths began its individual existence as a single unit, whence arose the myriads that compose its adult being. There comes thus to coexist the lime hardened tissues of our bones, the contractile cells of our muscles, the conductive cells of our nerves, and so forth."²

Obviously there must be some plan by which these many congeries or communities of cells develop and function for the welfare of the human being of which they are a part. Somehow or other the communities are stirred into action in response to some stimulus, and so food digests, hearts beat, lungs breathe, sex organs mature and function, wounds heal. One set or another of cells multiplies more rapidly than usual and after a while returns to its normal rate.

The control of growth and of special functioning is largely vested in the endocrine or ductless glands. These glands secrete *hormones* or *autocoids* which enter the blood stream and stimulate into activity the communities of cells or organs which the particular hormones affect.

The primary physical and mental changes that take place at adolescence are chiefly due to the activity of an autocoid secreted by the cells of Leydig, so-called "interstitial cells" in the gonads (testes and ovaries). But other glands have important parts to play in this phenomenon as well. If the thyroid does not function normally, causing the disease *myxedema*, the characteristic development of adolescence does not take place. The same failure of normal adolescent development happens if the pituitary gland or the pineal gland (two glands found just under the brain) or the adrenal glands (situated on the kidneys) do not function as they should. The thymus gland, found in the neck below the larynx, generally atrophies at adolescence. If it does not so atrophy, the boy is effeminate and has the high voice characteristic of girls and little children. It is less directly connected to the sex organs of girls, while the thyroid gland is more closely related to sex functions of girls than of boys.

² Sherrington, C. S.: The Integrative Action of the Nervous System. Scribner's Sons, 1906, quoted in Burnham's, The Normal Mind, p. 29.

*Integration of Personality Demands Intelligently Controlled
Environment*

Integration is the coordination of all of these interrelated controls of the behavior of the trillions of individual cells. Integration at a period of such rapid change as accompanies adolescence is peculiarly liable to be upset. The school can best safeguard and promote such harmony within the pupil's body by a program of friendly, mildly stimulating activities wherein each pupil will find himself frequently successful, and generally near enough to success to believe that tomorrow or next time, he can win the coveted satisfaction. In the midst of this program of cooperative endeavors the friendly teacher will come to a mutual understanding with every pupil in his charge.

The need for such a sympathetic understanding is very great. Puberty is a difficult time for even the most rugged and well balanced temperaments; for the more sensitive and nervous child, there is required the most patient and continuous stimulation of self-confidence in the performance of worth-while tasks. The positive program depends rather on an application of the laws of learning, and on a recognition of individual differences of many kinds, and on an understanding of the supreme importance of the emotional life of the child. For if these aspects are dealt with intelligently, then the integration of each child's personality is amply protected.

The behavior-adjustments of children at the dawn of adolescence becomes then the primary function of the junior high school. And this youthful institution is, despite the standardizing agencies and "curriculum experts," still sufficiently vigorous and flexible to deal effectively with this most important and complicated problem.

The junior high school is indeed to be defined in terms of this project. It is the institution that accepts all the mentally normal boys and girls of its community before they are adolescent, and fits its educational program to them. In this new school program, what constitutes seventh grade work or ninth grade standards is of little importance. Rather does the new school ask itself what is the subject matter and what the method, what is the educational experience that is most likely to stimulate each one of the 13- or 14- or 15-year old boys and girls to exert himself to the utmost to accomplish tasks that appeal to him, to his teachers, and to his parents as thoroughly worth-

while. For one it may be the preparation of an assembly, for another a report with charts in geography, for someone else it may be the school orchestra, and for still another it may be intuitional geometry. There are some children who find self-expression even in English grammar, there are many who find it in a foreign language, in type-writing, in art, in dressmaking, and in shop.

In the creatively controlled junior high school, nearly all children can find places satisfactorily in a diversified social environment of home-room and clubs and athletics and student publications and corridor officerships and clerical assistantships. In these places they can and do perform adequately and with growing confidence tasks for which they are competent. And the broadly conceived school, like social life itself, has room for and need for many and diverse traits and qualities among its members.

The junior high school is an environment to which come all the little children of late pre-adolescence—happy, active, and unspoiled as yet by the discouragements and artificialities of the formal and, to them at least, meaningless grind of grammar and verbal history and examination-passing. It is an environment in which these children, all of them, continue to live happy, adequate, purposeful lives of activity for the ensuing two or three years—years of rapid physical growth, of great intellectual activity, of emotional reconstruction, and spiritual unfoldment. And, finally, it is an environment from which there emerge two or three years later these same boys and girls, now taller and more mature, children of middle adolescence—almost young men and young women—eager to go on with their school education, having tasted of hard work and of resultant success, and found it good! And these self-confident youths of 15 to 16 years of age are interested in the public weal. They have found their personalities in their social groups. They have served as leaders and followers; they have imitated wisely and originated freely. Their personalities have waxed and bloomed in the warm friendly atmosphere of the junior high school.

Character of the Emerging Curriculum

For the junior high school is a protest against the dehumanized verbal and symbolic grind of formal mathematics, grammar, and history, and against the vicious destruction of human personality that

has so often characterized the school procedures both of the conventional grammar grades and of the uninspiring lesson-getting of the freshman year of the four-year high school. The school which was typical in 1900—and which is too much in evidence even today—resulted in the disgust and discouragement of most of the children who were not both bright in regard to abstract verbal intelligence and docile in accepting without question others' thoughts, others' wishes, others' standards as their own. There has until recently been little attention paid to the innovators among our youths and to the artistic, the mechanical, the socially effective boys and girls. There have been few, indeed who have had regard for the precious human beings who were being broken on the wheel of our stupid, unreal, and unlikelike, scholastic judgments.

Such callousness has been "respectable;" it has indeed been fortified by conventional standards and accepted practices. The hope of a new day in education has lain in the development of a new school that would base its practices in a philosophy and science of life. The junior high school is life—life that prepares for living, life that springs from within, life that is fresh and dynamic and resourceful. In this life, all children may develop eagerness to contribute, all may find satisfaction in originality, initiative, and service.

In the fields of health and recreation, in civics, in English, in music, in art, and in industrial arts, progress toward intelligent education is really being made empirically and realistically—often in spite of some of our researchers and "leaders." Out of the school's adjustments to the pressing problems of school practices, a new school curriculum is already emerging.

What does the already emerging curriculum indicate regarding the nature of this curriculum-to-be? Already in progressive junior high schools, one-sixth to one-fourth of the school day is given over to activity-periods and assemblies. If we include the lunch period, play ground supervision before and after school, athletic teams, Scouts, nature clubs, hiking clubs, and the like, the fraction of the school day given to other than subject-classes is already between a third and a half! If now we add the share of the time given to "subjects" which is used for student activities—recreation, publication, debates, assembly preparation, dramatics, singing, creating—then the amount of the school day that is left for spelling, algebra, grammar, science facts,

place geography, and history names and dates is small indeed. In the time assigned to physical education and health, to English, to art, to practical and household arts, to music, to civics, to business practices, to science, and occasionally even to mathematics and foreign languages, teachers and pupils cooperate eagerly, during more or less of the time, in a program of student activities that have subject-mastery as only an incidental objective. During such parts of the class-periods, class-activities are not distinguishable in type or spirit from those of the non-class "activity periods."

The junior high school is interested primarily in the social activities of children; its program takes account of their feelings, their desires, their personalities chiefly as they manifest themselves in relation to institutions and to their fellows. Its theses are that children can be guided and led to educate themselves best if—perhaps only if—they are first stimulated to undertake purposeful activities, and that such stimulus and control are most effective if groups of children are concerned in them.

This statement must not be misunderstood. The junior high school has no quarrel with individual expressions of abilities and interests. It does indeed encourage individualized leisure and study. But, as a school, its own instruments are social. And it would lead children to share their gifts and experiences and interests with others.

Normal human beings seek companionship much of the time. It matters little whether or not there is a natural "gang age" or whether or not there is an "instinct of gregariousness." For the junior high school, it is only important that boys and girls of late preadolescence and at the onset of adolescence, do enjoy active association with each other in face-to-face primary groups.

In the typical junior high school, they are encouraged and helped to associate themselves in various types of groups: interest-groups underlie clubs and curriculum electives; abstract ability groups underlie home-room sections and generally core-curriculum divisions; while physical size and ability underlie athletic groupings. Vocational interests may determine special curriculum opportunities. "Over-ageness" may determine special classifications for rapid advancement or special instruction.

The limits of this paper require that a single example of such groupings be dealt with here. The most characteristic aspect of the junior

high school behavior control is found in the home-room advisory section, and that is, therefore, selected.

The Advisory or Home-Room Sections

Characteristic of the junior high school's creative curriculum-emergent is the home-room advisory period. Here is a face-to-face, primary group, a gang—more accurately the raw materials of a dozen gangs. And the teacher-adviser is potentially a member and a sponsor for every one of them.

Adviser and school environment set up nicely calculated sequences of problems and challenges and obstacles and successes. In some aspect of its program every child will participate with all his heart and soul and mind and strength. About such a central purpose, his personality is integrated and his self-expression blossoms.

Objection may be raised that a home-room group is not a characteristic gang because Thrasher and others have shown that informal gangs are not homogeneous as to age. It remains true, however, that many conditions that promote the "ganging" process are present in the home-room, if adequate time is allowed for social processes to develop informally and spontaneously.

Propinquity and challenges result in common purposes and common undertakings. These involve cooperation and competitions for leadership or for recognition. Out of the resultant conflicts come group disciplines and group approvals. These social behaviors and social controls are typical of and similar to the conditions of life. Leading and following are both good fun, and the accompanying emotional states of elation and subjection are both enjoyable and satisfying.

Occasionally, however, the unsuccessful aspirant for office or other recognition may not accept defeat readily. He may be very unhappy if thwarted too often, and either distrust his own abilities and so cease to aspire, or become sullen, anti-social, or an agitator for disharmony. Treatment of the pathological cases is difficult and frequently unsuccessful.

The best way to overcome this dissatisfying condition is not to let it happen. If in the early days of the group's career, sufficiently varied group-undertakings are promoted to make it probable that all of the more vigorous social leaders will find self-expression, such thwartings need never occur.

Challenges, "races," and competitions assure eager participation in such group activities. In athletics, in getting subscribers for the school paper, in preparing for the assembly, in preparing "thrift-talks," in securing promptness, and in other similar contests wherein several advisory groups are joined in good-natured competition, there is room for every ambitious boy and girl to find a place of leadership. The "gangs" come to look to one pupil for leadership in athletics, another in journalism, another in dramatics, a fourth in the drive for promptness, and a fifth, sixth, and seventh in other group undertakings.

In its narrower sense a "gang" gangs for a specific purpose. An informal and incoherent group becomes socially conscious when challenged by a common purpose. In this narrow sense of the word, the home-room group is one gang for purposes of organizing an athletic team, and a quite different gang when it undertakes to reduce tardiness to a minimum, or to carry through an assembly program.

As the advisory work progresses, the sponsor promotes the desire for other undertakings of such nature as to give even the shyest or socially least competent pupil his chance to gain recognition, and even to exercise a brief but successful leadership. This is a fundamental duty of the adviser.

In the home-room group, it is desirable that as rapidly as possible and as gradually as necessary, motives for cooperative and competitive endeavors *within the group itself* be promoted. The transition from inter-group activities to intra-group cooperations and competitions should be begun as soon as it seems probable that there is sufficient group consciousness to make the attempt reasonably successful.

It is easier to act than it is to think about such abstract virtues as loyalty, trustworthiness, and the like; hence, the publishing of a home-room newspaper (a single copy for the bulletin board is sufficient) or giving an after-school party or preparing an assembly or cleaning up the locker room serves to promote behavior-adjustments of several desirable kinds.

There is promoted the search for and recognition of abilities and willingnesses on the part of the pupils; proposals frequently conflict and their sponsors must face the need for modifying them; groups within the room urge conflicting schemes which are checked up not only by their feasibility and inherent desirability but also by the social

enthusiasm that they arouse; leaders emerge and so do their rivals; political control may develop and it may be challenged.

New resources in pupil experiences and special abilities are constantly sought after. The child who plays a violin, the one who has been to Europe, the one whose father is a city official, the one who can "do tricks," the one who has become an "Eagle Scout," the stamp-collector, and the gymnast are all in demand on one occasion or another.

Group consciousness must be expanded, however. The child serves the group, and child and group serve the school. The individuals identify themselves with the group's ideals and achievements, and the school accomplishments of each member may affect wholesomely the attitudes of every other member of the advisory group.

As an example of such a group's pride, the following quotation from the comments of the spokesman for a group of dull-normal, over-aged boys who had been transferred to the ninth grade may be cited:

"It was a few days after the beginning of the fall term, when all the pupils were wondering who was to be their new adviser, and whether we were going to get a teacher that was willing to make us happy and make things like home. We felt like people at a circus, who take a chance on a raffling machine that costs twenty-five cents a shot, and who had their lamps focussed on the prize in the rear of the tent, and who were wondering whether they would win or not. They didn't know, but they took a chance. Well, that is the way we felt before the opening of the present term, when a certain few boys were taken from one group, put into another, still another, and at last we found ourselves in Miss Jones's room, with thirty-five good fellows.

"All of us boys were happy as heck. Our adviser, Miss Jones, suggested the name, Blewett Braves. It was unanimously adopted. It sounds weird, doesn't it? Of the big group of thirty-six boys, nearly every one has some office in the school. Some of the guys have more than their share and have as high as four offices. We have the Captain of the Corridor Officers, the four Lieutenants, one Sergeant, and eleven Corporals.

"We have the president and vice-president of the ninth grade congress and two representatives to the cabinet. Also we possess thirteen members of the "B" council, three lunch-room cashiers, and two servers. Another feather in our cap is the barn dance we gave, in which eighty members of the ninth grade, faculty and pupils, took part. It was a success that put the Blewett Braves on the map. . . . Well, you've heard all about us. Our wigwam is 108."³

To know what each pupil can contribute, to get him to desire to do it, to set the stage so that his effort may be successful to the extent

³ Cox, P. W. L.: *Creative School Control*. J. B. Lippincott Co., 1927, p. 58.

that he makes earnest effort—in a word, to replace the conditions that repress by conditions that encourage expression with satisfaction—this requires great resource and true teaching and advisement. It is of utmost importance, however. *And it does work in practice.*⁴

This is no small accomplishment. It is more significant than correcting English usage, more important than history dates or even than intellectual problem-solving. It may result in the child's discovery of, if not in the saving of, his soul. Freed of emotional conflicts and repression, calm and confident within the limits of his ability, each one goes about his daily work, in school and out, knowing from happy experience that in some capacity his contribution is unique and is needed by his fellows, and that to the extent that he puts forth earnest effort some measure of success will result.

All of this he knows, not as information, but rather as a behavior complex. He walks with head higher and shoulders more erect because his conscious self and his biological self are in accord. He is encouraged to live a life of positive action that satisfies his unconscious self.

The truth of the following paragraphs from Samuel Butler's, *The Way of All Flesh*, written over a half-century ago, must now be apparent. Speaking of the boy, Ernest, shortly after entering Roughborough School at about thirteen, he continues:

"The dumb Ernest persuaded with inarticulate feelings too swift and sure to be translated into such debatable things as words, but practically insisted as follows:—

"Growing is not the easy, plain sailing business that it is commonly supposed to be: it is hard work—harder than any but a growing boy can understand; it requires attention, and you are not strong enough to attend to your bodily growth, and to your lessons, too. Never learn anything until you find you have been made uncomfortable for a good long while by not knowing it; when you find that you have occasion for this or that knowledge, or foresee that you will have occasion for it shortly, the sooner you learn it the better, but till then spend your time in growing bone and muscle; these will be much more useful to you than Latin and Greek, nor will you ever be able to make them if you do not do so now, whereas Latin and Greek can be acquired at any time by those who want them.

"You are surrounded on every side by lies which would deceive even the elect, . . . the self of which you are conscious, your reason-

⁴ Even relatively mediocre teachers are frequently—one might almost say generally—caught up in the friendly and joyful spirit of the groups. Such "conversions" require administrative finesse, of course. It requires a "big brother" and "big sister" type of cooperative supervision. It requires decentralization of responsibility and creative leadership. It requires that the principal himself become adviser and sponsor to a faculty "advisory group,"—a faculty "gang."

ing and reflecting self, will believe these lies and bid you act in accordance with them. This conscious self of yours, Ernest, is a prig, begotten of prigs, and trained in priggishness; I will not allow it to shape your action, . . . Obey me, your true self, and things will go tolerably well with you, but only listen to that outward and visible old husk of yours which is called your father, and I will rend you in pieces even unto the third and fourth generation as one who has hated God; for I, Ernest, am the God who made you."⁵

The junior high school has discovered what all socially significant institutions must discover, that stubbornness and perverseness were given by nature for a purpose. It is an assertion of self-respect, "an unwritten insurance policy against slavery." Not mandates but motives, guidance, and sponsorship are the means by which behavior-adjustments may best be obtained.

The individual child is the end of the creative social process, and the school must not utilize the child to promote a smooth running school machine. Rather should the school utilize the school institution to promote purposeful socialized activities and unique but integrated personalities of the pupils. If the pupils of Miss Smith, instead of selling tickets to the school entertainment in order to "beat Miss Robinson's group," do so in order to serve the school, then intergroup cooperations are promoted. Such cooperations are promoted by the introduction of concrete motives such as a parade, a parents' night, a Red Cross roll-call. Later, less dramatic motives, such as the care of the school grounds, decrease of tardiness, traffic problems, library equipment, and lunch-room conduct may call for representatives from the home-room to meet in informal council. Such a council will legislate regarding plans, ideas, conflicts, etc.; it will seldom interfere with behavior-adjustments by vote.

Under such conditions the only competitions between home-room groups is to discover "who best can serve the state." It is, indeed, not unpleasant to be defeated in such a competition if one is satisfied that the better plan won. All members of the home-room groups may not be convinced, of course, but if school welfare is uppermost, the lessons of representative government for the decision and execution of social policies are thus learned. Whether or not pupils agree with decisions of council or administrators, their behavior will be affected

⁵ Butler, Samuel: *The Way of All Flesh*. Boni & Liveright. Modern Library, p. 130.

rather by the interaction of the school-morale and the habits and attitudes promoted by their home-room groups.

For in the home-room, life is abundant and most unrestrained, eagerness and joy abound, and success attends all earnest efforts. Here it is easy and "natural" to behave in socially desirable and self-satisfying ways—indeed whatever is self-satisfying is also socially desirable. It is an embryonic typical community, a purified and idealized democratic society.

HOW TO TRANSLATE A LIST OF DETAILED OBJECTIVES INTO A PRACTICAL PROGRAM OF CIVIC EDUCATION

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FOR some six or eight years there has been active propaganda for the idea of building school curricula around specific objectives. Of course at first this proposal provoked considerable mirth, and in those early days I heard prominent students of education sneer at the fact that Bobbitt's Los Angeles list contained upwards of a thousand items. (Most people by now have accepted the principle that the school must set for itself, not a few large aims like development of character and resourcefulness, but many hundreds of quite specific aims couched in terms of the particular abilities needed out in society.) But the present difficulty is how to turn these specific objectives into practical working programs. One finds the general idea very inspiring but when one reads through the lists—long and detailed as they are—the effect is likely just to make his head swim, so that he holds up his hands in despair and goes on teaching about as he did before. The purpose of this article is to illustrate how we can go about working lists of detailed objectives into practical school programs.

The curriculum procedure here in question involves, as indicated above, breaking up citizenship, personal culture, domestic efficiency, or whatever else we are working for, into the specific elements that make it up; then pursuing each of these elements as a clearly conscious objective. There are available several exhaustive analyses of civic efficiency. In a Supplementary Monograph¹ to the School Review Professor Bobbitt reports a study by John A. Nietz based on interviews with various types of citizens in Chicago which yielded a very detailed list of the activities of good citizens. During the past nine years the present writer has worked up a similarly detailed "composite picture" of the efficient citizen by telescoping over a thousand separate analyses supplied mostly by mature schoolmen. Each schoolman was asked (1) to make a job analysis of citizenship as he him-

¹ Number 31, *Curriculum Investigations*, chapter VII.

self had experienced it, (2) to get in mind some particular good citizen and write down some of the things he did which seemed to be responsible for his goodness as a citizen, and (3) to describe some particular bad citizen. When these lists had been translated into comparable terms and compiled into a single composite list they gave what the writer believes to be a practically complete picture of the kind of citizen we wish to make, though, of course, each of the two hundred and fifty-odd items could be further subdivided at considerable length.

We shall use here only one item from that list to illustrate how we can pursue the items of such analysis as definite objectives. Each of the others needs to be similarly treated.

"The civically efficient individual must be above sectionalism and all other forms of partisanship; he must be ready to take the impartial spectator's attitude in respect to the rights of his own group compared with those of other groups."

At present our citizenry as a whole is undoubtedly deficient in this trait. Local patriotism outweighs large scope loyalties. Not only have our people in the main been ready to accept the slogan, "America first," but they have in practice placed even ahead of that their respective states and communities. Citizens of a community are expected to support their local candidate when he is pitted against a candidate from outside; assessments are often so manipulated that as little as possible of the state's tax shall fall upon the local unit; congressmen are encouraged and expected to work for new postoffices or other improvements for their constituencies; and political questions are scrutinized more largely from the standpoint of how they will affect the local section than how they will benefit the world at large. Indeed so persistent is the human nature pull toward sectionalism that Professor Bobbitt has pointed to the cultivation of large-group consciousness as the central problem of civic education. Proposals:

1. Any sound education for cosmopolitanism must, of course, start with the pupil's own experience. He must, within the realm that is real to him, have got into the way of looking at conduct from the standpoint of the larger whole. He must have come to see that it is base for him and his chums to give each other illegitimate help or otherwise to pit their interests against the welfare of the class; he must have come to willingness to have his team lose in the athletic contests rather

than have them resort to unsportsmanlike methods of winning; he must have come to feel that true loyalty compels him to oppose his own class when it proposes conduct injurious to the school as a whole; he must have become ready voluntarily to withdraw his team from the ball ground when another school or club is morally but not legally entitled to it. These are little daily practices over which parents, bystanders, and teachers have supervision or influence, and they must be constantly so handled that to be decently considerate of the rights of groups other than his own will have become "second nature" for the growing lad and lass. The school's athletics, and other extra-curricular activities, afford excellent opportunities for the application of this viewpoint but many opportunities are to be found also in classroom procedures and in all phases of the pupils in-school and out-of-school life. By the experiences resulting from the the utilization of these opportunities the pupil will have cumulatively developed a "sub-conscious," intuitional philosophy of life impelling him to look at proposed conduct always from the standpoint of how fair and decent it is from the other fellow's point of view as well as how convenient it is or himself and for his gang.

2. The example of teachers and parents and of esteemed people in the community is a further factor in training the child into cosmopolitanism in his point of view. In the Economics class, in the History class, in Literature, in Geography, the true teacher will so constantly survey all problems from the point of view of one who stands aside from all interested parties and maintains the poise of the impartial spectator that pupils will come almost inevitably to catch that same point of view. Whenever pupils argue a question from the standpoint of the interests of a particular group, they will be confronted with the fact that the true criterion is not whether the matter was valuable to this particular set but whether from the standpoint of one looking upon the world from the outside it would seem to be the right thing. Such constantly maintained atmosphere of cosmopolitanism should weigh heavily in the pull by which pupils are to be raised above sectionalism in their outlook upon life.

3. In the third place, and central in the scheme, there must be developed in the pupil deep and strong *conviction* that a citizen should act from the point of view of the whole rather than from that of the welfare of a single section or group. To this end the matter may be

brought up for explicit discussion in class. Such discussion is likely to be interesting and convincing if it is precipitated around some concrete problem, as: "Is it right that the East should insist upon a tariff on manufactured goods when no compensating tariff on agricultural products could be successfully laid for the benefit of the West?" "Is Senator Sorgun a true Republican when he uses his great personal influence to get the appointment of Mr. Blank from his own state on the Supreme Court bench?" "Ought Americans to encourage the improvement of the St. Lawrence River transportation when such improvement would divert freight from our railroads and from our own Erie Canal?" "Also to debate the merits of such theories of government and industry as "pluralism" and "syndicalism" in comparison with our present form of organization, should constitute an excellent opportunity for clarifying ideas and establishing convictions regarding the propriety of having each group clamor for its own.

4. Again, impartiality in regard to other groups in comparison with one's own must be made an *ideal*. Narrowness and class selfishness must have become emotionally taboo. Conversely, even-handed justice as between diverse groups and sections must have come to be regarded as so enticingly beautiful and noble that when the youth contemplates conduct of his own or of others that is in harmony with it, he is thrilled with admiration and approval. A number of devices can be made to contribute toward such idealization of intersectional justice. Constant reiteration will help by its cumulative effects; the teacher's shudder at concrete cases of narrowness, and his evident pleasure at breadth of sympathy, will be further factors; doubtless poetry and song could be made to add something. But probably the most effective device for emotionalizing this attitude is to be found in the judicious use of heroes and slackers. Concrete cases of men and women who have beautifully exemplified the attitude of impartial justice to all sections on a par with their own can be related for the admiration of the class; conversely, slackers who were contemptibly narrow in their loyalties and unfair to groups or sections other than their own can be so presented as to arouse the disgust of the pupils. These stories of heroes or slackers can be brought up incidentally in history, geography, literature and other studies and more systematically in the course of civics.

5. By these convictions, taboos, and ideals pupils will have been *disposed* to be fair to outside groups, sections or nations. But one thing more they need—a *knowledge of those groups*. There must be an understanding of the needs and problems of the several sections. This is to be attained partly through problem-solving. *Why* is it that New England wants a protective tariff? *Why* does Japan want room for the emigration of her people? If our pupils can be led to think such problems through thoroughly in geography and elsewhere, so that they leave school with a vivid realization of the social needs of different sections, they will be in better position to pass intelligent judgment as to what proposals or requests from these sections they ought to support. Although to find solutions for such problems as class projects would probably be the most effective way in which to have pupils get a clear insight into the needs and characteristics of the nations, direct explanation by the teacher, or expository teaching in text books, might also prove satisfactory. Indeed any information would be pertinent to our purpose here that gave promise of ever affording any basis for passing judgment on the legitimacy of a group's wishes—what the people do, what are their natural advantages and handicaps in doing these things, what are their resources, what are the characteristics of the people, etc.

6. Not only do our future citizens need an intellectual grasp of the problems of the various sections and nations but also a warm *feeling of intimacy* with the peoples of other communities and other lands. One reason why we are ready to support the wishes of our own section rather than of New England is because we can scarcely realize that New Englanders feel their wants quite as keenly as we feel ours. They seem to us so distant and so cold that they do not strike our imagination as quite human. Even more largely is this true of peoples of foreign nations. The peoples of these lands are likely to seem mere shadowy figures, diabolical machines of some sort, scheming savages ready to pounce upon us in war and to destroy our fine civilization. We need to come to see that they are human just as we are, that they are characterized by the same tenderness and kindness and sympathy and sensibility as the people about us whom we know so well and love so much. A highly realistic geography can be made to give pupils this feeling of intimacy for distant peoples. Such realistic geography will use stereoscopic pictures, movie scenes of

life in the land under study, human interest stories, realistic reports by students as to what the people do in their daily round of duties, anecdotes to bring out the human-nature side of their lives, such realistic material for collateral reading as that of the MacDonald series, *Little People Everywhere*, dramatization of the play and work and other phases of the life in the country in question, pageants in which representatives of the nations studied meet our representatives in friendly greeting and intercourse, exchange of letters between children in the foreign country and children in our own schools, and many other devices so to *introduce* our children to the children and adults of the distant land that they will come to feel akin. Such feeling of intimacy, and such alone, can make possible a genuine sympathy and, consequently, an easy and natural justice.

Reverting now to general terms after our single concrete illustration, our steps in setting up a purposive curriculum for school education in citizenship will be the following:

1. Get before us a detailed blueprint of the individual we wish to make as the end result of the educational process. Such blueprints are now available as far as the larger headings are concerned, though there still remains the task of breaking each item into further aspects or stages.

2. Check through the blueprint, raising the question which of the items need for their sufficient realization the aid of the school in the particular type-group of pupils with whom we are dealing, and which will be sufficiently taken care of by such non-school agencies as ordinary association, the press, the church and the movies. From this point on we need work only upon those which require the aid of the school.

3. Break up into its psychological constituents each objective that remains on our agenda. The objective itself will be stated in terms of the ability to do a certain thing as a citizen. But the ability to do each thing will rest upon ideals, taboos, interests, habits, knowledges, and techniques of procedure. We must spot these psychological elements on which our social objective depends because it is these psychological objectives that will suggest to us directly methods of procedure in our teaching.

4. Allocate to optimum grade levels the efforts to attain the objectives we have set for ourselves. Some of them can be accomplished

chiefly at a single grade level while others will require follow-up efforts distributed purposively through a number of grade levels.

5. Consider what are the most effective methods of teaching for any particular desired element—exposition? problem solving? inductive lesson? story? practice? suggestion? or what? Ultimately this question must be answered on the basis of a very long series of scientifically controlled experiments in which the results from alternative methods are measured in order to determine which methods yield best results.

6. At each grade level allot to the several studies and to the other activities the objectives to be worked for at that stage.

a. Some of our objectives can be sought through extra-curricular activities—parties, clubs, conversation, music. But it is easy to deceive ourselves as to how much we are getting from this source. If parties and clubs are to make much contribution we must consciously set them up with reference to the civic outcomes we expect from them. In the lower grades the counter-part of these clubs and parties are various monitorial duties through which pupils serve and through which practice they develop civic virtues and abilities.

b. Some objectives should be realized through the administration of our school system—the type of discipline maintained, pupil participation in school government, socialized classroom procedures, the example of the teacher, and the atmosphere of the classroom. But these are likely to count for most only when the teacher sets up these policies with an eye to their bearing upon the civic ends he wishes to achieve through them.

c. Many objectives can be realized through incidental instruction in the various school studies. The teacher of English, of History, of Mathematics, of Science, has many opportunities, if he will use them, for making little thrusts here and there toward ideals and biases and perspectives and techniques known to be needed by good citizens. To his pupils he may seem at these times to have wandered off his subject for the moment, but in reality he is doing precisely what he had planned to do. The great danger in this incidental instruction is that it may be neglected; teachers of history and other subjects will claim that they have many possibilities for such teaching of citizenship but as a matter of fact do little or nothing in practice about these possibilities. To prevent this I advise teachers to sit down in the fall with

their text books and their courses of study before them, go through these and write in the margins of the text each point at which it would be possible for them to inject a drive toward one of the items in the list of elements in civic efficiency, and then as the year goes by put into the daily lesson plans at the indicated places provisions for actually making the drives for which they had contracted. Without such systematic means of reminding oneself of one's obligations, opportunities for incidental teaching are likely to be passed by unused.

d. After as much as possible of civic instruction has been provided for through these unsystematic means many objectives will be left inadequately provided for. These should be assigned to courses for systematic instruction—courses in civics, in hygiene, in ethics, in economics, in sociology, in psychology. The syllabi for these systematic courses should be made up from the topics still standing in our civic and other analyses after those have been checked off that can be fully taken care of incidentally or that pupils may be expected to fall into without the aid of the school. In other words, the function of the course in civics, and in the other social sciences, is a residual one; civics should complete whatever has been left undone by all the other agencies combined.

To this procedure I think we may appropriately apply the name, *Educational Engineering*. Our procedure is very much like that of the architectural or mechanical engineer. We do not forge ahead at random in the dark. Instead we set up for ourselves a blueprint of what we want; then we began a systematic drive to bring into reality everyone of the elements of our blueprint. We do not teach subjects for their own sake but merely use them as tools for bringing about the right sort of changes in pupils. We do not permit parties and clubs and conversation merely as a means of amusement but employ them as opportunities for building definitely conceived types of civic character. And all through the day we are continually on tiptoe to adjust means to definite ends. About each incident in discipline, about each policy affecting the social life of the school, about each step in teaching, about each act that may be imitated by pupils, we raise the question; how can it be so managed as to make it drive on maximally toward this or that specific civic ability that we as schoolmen have contracted to develop in our pupils before we turn them out into the state.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE GANG. By *Frederic M. Thrasher*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927. Pp. XXI+571, \$3.00.

In recent years a great deal of literature and more of platform discussion has appeared, dealing with the gang, most of which has been guess or fantastic. The book of Doctor Thrasher represents the first attempt to present a scientific treatise. He has organized and presented his facts so convincingly that his book represents one of the outstanding contributions to the sociological literature of the year.

The value of this book for educators lies in its presentation of a type of collective behavior with which every educator is immediately concerned. The educator is no longer required to rely upon the psychological or philosophical theories of gangs but upon a scientific inquiry into their character, activity, and educative influence.

Doctor Thrasher opens by implication the whole problem of the educative influence of the gang and his discussion is most valuable from this point of view. The modern educator can no longer be content with the method and type of school organization that has satisfied him in the past. We are led to inquire whether our biggest problem is not that of making natural gangs out of our classes in situations that will insure adequate and proper instead of improper social behavior.

The writer has contributed little to the discussion of the problem of education directly, but his indirect contribution has been one of the greatest of the year. The study represents the ideal of social research and the literary style is highly effective.

E. GEORGE PAYNE, New York University

AN OUTLINE OF METHODS OF RESEARCH WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS. By *P. W. L. Cox, J. G. Masters, J. K. Norton, E. W. Pringle, A. J. Jones*. (Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin 1924, No. 24.) Washington: Government Printing Office, 1927. Pp. VI+31, \$1.00.

Educational research, the writers feel, has been too largely of the laboratory type. While recognizing that a Bureau of Educational Research is a valuable adjunct of every school system, the fact remains that "much research can be carried on *only in the classroom* where

the process of education is *actually taking place*, and where all agencies concerned are functioning as they usually do." The teacher and principal, then, are very important factors in educational research. But the majority of them are untrained. The bulletin aims to give definite suggestion for procedure to such teachers and principals as wish to investigate some phase of secondary school work.

After consideration of the meaning of research, of the selection and definition of the problem (where emphasis is put on such practical problems as will lead to improvement of procedure), four types of research are recognized and discussed: the historical type, the experimental type, the philosophical type, and the survey. The case method and questionnaire receive passing notice. There is brief discussion of the interpretation of data. A list of research agencies available for principal and teacher, and a classified bibliography, are appended.

The pamphlet is suggestive, and contains many common sense observations. In so few pages, of course, little actual technique can be given. Unfortunately, the bibliographies are hardly adequate to allow the reader to make good this deficiency for himself. The case method, probably the most practical single research tool a teacher could be given, is very inadequately discussed, and none of the significant books on the case method are cited. There is a tendency to identify special methods with research as such—the "philosophical type," for instance, is merely the Aristotelian logic which led scholastics to debate how many angels could dance on the point of a needle, and the pamphlet fails to point out that the deductive logic contains within itself no means of checking its assumptions. The pamphlet treats the school and its problems—by implication and emphasis—more or less as though they existed in a vacuum and were not constantly conditioned by social situations outside the school. Within its limitations, however, which are for the most part limitations of space, the bulletin should prove highly valuable in orienting principals and teachers with respect to educational research.

HARVEY ZORBAUGH, New York University

AMONG THE DANES. By *Edgar Wallace Knight*. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1927. Pp. XII+236.

We in America must sometimes grow sceptical and disheartened as we take our parts in the groping efforts of our people to deal with their

important political, economic, educational, and other social problems. The challenge of Denmark helps to sustain us. For Denmark is a laboratory somewhat removed from the vortex of European politics, freed from imperial ambitions, homogeneous in race and culture, and driven by its lack of natural resources either to apply its intelligence or to surrender its national entity.

Among the Danes political, agricultural, economic problems have been faced by resourceful and influential men courageously and with remarkable insight. "Good schools have purified their politics, dignified their ways of government, and enlightened the people. Through education and cooperation the Danes have reduced social injustice and increased the well-being of all the people. They have applied taxation . . . as investment in common prosperity."

What the conditions have been, how they have changed, what changes now seem imminent, is clearly and sometimes charmingly told by Professor Knight, who for most of the year 1925-26, lived in Denmark as Research Fellow of the Social Science Research Council. In the first seven chapters the author has given a clear and understandable description of the Danish people, their culture, their economic and social problems, and the interrelation of functions and influences of their traditions and aspirations, their government, their cooperatives and other societies, and their various educational institutions.

The discussion of the methods and accomplishments of the Folk Highschool is peculiarly discriminating and stimulating; one feels as though he must do more than admire it, he ought somehow to translate some aspects of spirit and method into equivalents for American education. In this resolution, the reader is encouraged and helped by Professor Knight's comparisons between Danish conditions and those of North Carolina. Unfortunately, he has almost too regularly taken such occasions to scold his neighbors; at times one would almost suggest the ducking-stool as fit treatment for the author.

The later chapters of the book include expository pictures of social, political, and educational problems that are of great interest to socially alert people everywhere. These pictures cover a considerable range of interests: viz., Hans Christian Anderson's personality and influence, the treatment of the German minority in Slesvig, teacher training, the formalism of the University, agriculture, taxes, marriage and

divorce, and the decay of romance. Merely listing these topics is, however, quite inadequate. One must read the charming and humorous chapters on the visit to the farm and on the University commencement—indeed one must read the entire book and that is what the present reviewer recommends to everyone who is interested in a better America.

PHILIP W. L. Cox, New York University

BEFORE BOOKS. By *Caroline Pratt* and *Jessie Stanton*. New York: Adelphi Co., \$2.00.
ADVENTURING WITH TWELVE-YEAR-OLDS. By *Leila Stott* and *Caroline Pratt*. New York: Greenberg. \$2.00.

Before Books is the story of the school life of children of four years of age and of children six years of age in the free activities of the school environment set up in the well-known City and Country School, 165 West 12th Street, New York City. *Adventuring With Twelve Year Olds* presents a year's work with an older group. With the records, which in each case picture the actual school living of the children, goes an account of the School and its philosophy, with the frankest statement of failures and successes in one of the outstanding experiment stations in American education. These two books form the third in a series of which *Experimental Practice in the City and Country School*, a record of seven year olds, was the pioneer.

The City and Country School was founded in the belief that one could not begin to formulate a program of education for children unless through long experience one had discovered what children really were like. So from the very beginning it accepted the children that came to it without prejudice—one of the most difficult feats in pedagogy!—and assumed only one thing, seemingly, that solely upon the natural interests and activities of youth may one build any useful theory of guidance.

Naturally there was no curriculum, and there is still none. And yet the children are busy with useful and purposeful things; and their growth educationally is as straight and as sure as any other growth. Out of natural activities and interests spring all that is needed for living. The curriculum, which, one remembers, means the chariot race-course, is all here for one to read in these books; but it is the course which has been run and which every child has completed with success, and not, as is usually the fact, the course that was plotted but which few managed to finish.

It is from material so richly suggested in these books, our prediction is, that all effective courses of study will eventually be made. Philosophers have guessed about childhood but here is childhood itself. And it is a childhood that renews our faith in human kind and puts to rout the despotic pedagogues whose practices have been actuated by a devilish leaning toward the belief in original sin and whose results have confirmed their theory of infant damnation. For the strength and beauty of young life is here in abundance, and all the moralities, including the business credo of persistence, concentration, and sticking-to-the-job; it even has the culturists item of the discipline of difficulties; and the excursions into biology, chemistry, physics, civics, hygiene, sanitation, transportation and the like make up part of the living desire of even four year olds.

The craving for information about the life we do now live goes hand in hand with the persistent impulse to create. If one adds two other urges that are amply illustrated in every half dozen pages of these books, the curiosity about the past out of which and because of which has come this very present, and the strong desire to come under the influence of the creative work of their elders, the main ways to education are exhibited here as open to all who pass this way. Information that grows out of daily necessity, self-expression in word, act, thing and deed, a view of the journey man has already traveled, a surrender to the play of art upon our spirits, when these are offered as summing up the demands of healthy growth, what more may education really supply?

These books will be a necessary part of the equipment of the professional educator, teacher or administrator; and they will be of rare interest to that great body of parents who, impatient with things as they too often are, have begun to seek the best thinking on that mystery, the growth of personality in their children.

HUGHES MEARNS, New York University

PROCRUSTES, OR THE FUTURE OF ENGLISH EDUCATION. By M. Alderton Pink. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1927. Pp. 108. \$1.00.

In the words of the publishers, this book "is sure to unsettle those who are so cock sure that our present educational system is mightily effective." The book is certainly an unsettling one. The author takes occasion to criticize vigorously the present educational system in

England and digresses occasionally to criticize American education. He talks largely of the over-emphasis on unessentials but fails to indicate what the real essentials are. He displays the usual symptoms of those who, receiving their education in the past, criticize present educational procedures, and then find themselves in difficulty because they cannot divorce themselves from the influences of their own past educational experiences.

One is forced to wonder how carefully the author has studied the thing called "education." Regardless of the amount of such study, it would appear that Mr. Pink has not yet arrived at any definite philosophy. He indicates the futility of setting up an educational machine which is based upon the assumption that all children who enter elementary school are destined to graduate from the university. He would have diversified curricula which, presumably, should be molded to meet the needs of those who are not to be expected to go through college. In common with many others, he assumes that when he has used the expression "meet the needs," he has solved the problem, although he has not indicated what these needs are nor what the curricula should be to accomplish the objectives. Such slight indications as he has given are more than tinged by a traditional conception of education. Particularly is this true in his references to vocational education. One would have more respect for his strictures were he to advocate for vocational education a definite program of specialized education to fit for occupational efficiency, based upon as broad a foundation of general education as is consonant with the abilities of the individual and the conditions in the community.

His diatribe of present trends in university education is justified in terms of those universities which conduct themselves in the manner to which he objects. While it is true that many institutions of higher learning conceive of research in a narrow and impractical sense, nevertheless, there are some universities which have adopted a saner attitude in this respect and which do not allow research to overshadow all other activities. Until a definite decision has been reached concerning the legitimate purposes of a university education and until definite provision is made in the universities for the realization of all these purposes, it is to be expected that universities will continue to muddle along. What these legitimate purposes are, however, Mr. Pink does not tell us. To quote his concluding paragraph: "When the

cult of research has thus reduced itself to absurdity, the time will come when we shall perhaps turn to the conception of a university as a place where, by the study and discussion of problems of fundamental importance, the most intelligent young men and women are brought into contact with the best and most stimulating minds, where the balance is held true between intellect and emotion, between thought and action."

The above paragraph represents a choice collection of words which will have, most likely, a different meaning for everyone who reads them. It is possible that conditions in English education are such that the people need Mr. Pink's pabulum. It is also possible, however, that the author's readers would prefer to have something more tangible and concrete.

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THE CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

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Clement, Stephen Caldwell, Professor of Sociology, Buffalo State Teachers' College. Professor Clement received his A. B. from the State Teachers' College, Buffalo, in 1915. At present he is on Sabbatical leave doing graduate work in the School of Education of New York University.

Counts, George Sylvester, Associate Director of International Institute of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia University. Professor Counts is a native of Kansas. He received his A. B. from Baker University in 1911, and his Ph.D. from The University of Chicago in 1916. He has been connected with Delaware College, Harris Teachers College, University of Washington, Yale University, and Chicago University. His fields of special interest have been Educational Sociology and Secondary Education. He has been a special investigator for the Commonwealth Fund, and a member of Philippine Educational Survey Commission (1924). His most notable contribution to Education is "Principles of Education" (with J. C. Chapman). He has spent the past summer in Europe most of which time was devoted to Russia.

Cox, Philip Wescott Lawrence, Professor of Secondary Education, School of Education, New York University. Professor Cox received his A. B. and M. A. degrees from Harvard, and Ph.D. from Columbia. He has been tutor, submaster, principal, and superintendent in Massachusetts, and superintendent at Solway, N. Y. He was an instructor at Harris Teachers' College, organized Ben Blewett Junior High School, St. Louis, and was principal of High School of the Lincoln School of Teachers' College before coming to New York University. He is the author of Curriculum Adjustment in Secondary School, and Creative School Control.

Ellwood, Charles A., Professor of Sociology, University of Missouri. Professor Ellwood is a New Yorker by birth and early training.

His bachelor's degree was received at Cornell, and his Ph.D. at Chicago after having spent a year at University of Berlin. He has been in his present position since 1900. Professor Ellwood is an active member of many educational societies both national and international, serving as President of the American Sociological Society in 1924. He is contributor to numerous periodicals, and the author of several books. The most notable of his books are *Sociology in its Psychological Aspects*, *The Reconstruction of Religion*, and *The Psychology of Human Society*.

Payne, Enoch George, Professor of Educational Sociology and Assistant Dean, School of Education, New York University. Professor Payne, the Editor-in-Chief and the originator of this new publication, is a native of Kentucky. He received an A. B. degree from Chicago University and later studied in University of Paris, and the Universities of Berlin and of Bonn receiving his Ph.D. from the latter in 1909. He was teacher, high school principal, professor and dean of the Eastern State Normal School in his native State. For twelve years he was Professor of Sociology and President of Harris Teachers' College, St. Louis. He has held his present position since 1922. Dr. Payne is one of the pioneers in the movement for health and accident education, being the author of numerous articles, pamphlets, and books in these two fields—the chief publications being *Education in Accident Prevention*, *We and Our Health* (books I-IV), and *Health and Safety in the New Curriculum*. His latest book is *Principles of Educational Sociology*.

Peters, Charles Clinton, Professor of Education, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio. Professor Peters is a Pennsylvanian by birth. His education was received at Lebanon Valley College, A. B.; Harvard, A. M.; and University of Pennsylvania, Ph.D. He had held positions at Clarksbury, (Mo.) College, Westfield (Ill.) College, and at his Alma Mater, Lebanon Valley College and Lehigh University before going to Ohio Wesleyan in 1917. His two books are—*Human Conduct*, and *The Foundations of Educational Sociology*. He has been one of the active members of the National Society of Educational Sociologists, being the secretary for several years.

Zorbaugh, Harvey Warren, Assistant Professor of Educational Sociology, New York University. Professor Zorbaugh is a native of Ohio. He received his education at Vanderbilt University and at the University of Chicago. While at Chicago he held a Research Fellowship, and was one of the directors of the Lower North Child Guidance Clinic of Chicago. He is a Clinical Sociologist interested in the sociological approach to the study of individual and social behavior.

